TRAVELS

INTO

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK.

VOL. IV.

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INTO

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AND

DENMARK.

INTERSPERSED WITH HISTORICAL RELATIONS AND POLITICAL INQUIRIES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

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TRAVELS

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BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Swediſh Finland.—Louiſa.—Helſingfors.—Abo.—*Journey in ſledges over part of the frozen ſurface of the* Gulf of Bothnia.—*Iſle of* Aland.—*Paſſage by ſea to the coaſt of* Sweden.—*Journey to* Stockholm.

THE limits of Ruſſia and Sweden, as ſettled by the peace of Abo, are formed by the river Kymen, on the ſouth ſide whereof was a wooden houſe, a rampart of earth, and a ſmall battery. Being admitted through a wooden barrier, guarded by a Ruſſian ſoldier, we croſſed a bridge to a ſmall iſland,

paſſed another bridge over a ſtream which was a branch of the Kymen; and went through a ſecond barrier, at which ſtood a Swediſh centinel. In quitting the Ruſſian dominions, our baggage was ſlightly ſearched; and in entering Swediſh Finland, the ſame ceremony was performed by the cuſtom-houſe officers of that diſtrict. Cloſe to the frontiers, we changed horſes at Lilla-Abborfors; and in leſs than an hour arrived at Louiſa.

Soon after our departure from Wiburgh, the weather changed from very near a thaw to a ſevere froſt; the mercury in the thermometer ſinking to 22 below freezing point. This ſudden alteration in the ſtate of the atmoſphere was in no wiſe diſagreeable: the warmth of our clothing enabled us to defy the moſt intenſe froſt; nor had I once occaſion to uſe all the coverings with which I had the precaution to provide myſelf. The face was the only part which I found difficult to ſecure againſt the attacks of the cold, and more particularly at night, when I was inclined to ſleep. In that ſtate I generally covered my cheeks and forehead with the flaps of my velvet cap, leaving only my noſe and mouth free for reſpiration; and over them I ſometimes held my muff, or placed my handkerchief,

which

which was attended with this inconvenience: as the breath inſtantly congealed, the parts of the muff or handkerchief, in contact with my mouth, became in a ſhort time ſo clotted with icicles, that I was obliged repeatedly to change their poſition, in order to prevent an accumulation of the frozen particles.

Louiſa is an open town upon a bay of the Gulf of Finland; and is guarded towards the ſea by a ſmall fortreſs. The houſes are all of wood, and of two ſtories; they are painted with a red colour, and look much neater than thoſe of the common towns and villages in Ruſſia. Soon after our arrival we waited upon the governor to obtain an order for poſt horſes, and to procure information with reſpect to our intended route to Stockholm. In ſummer, travellers, in paſſing from Peterſburgh to the capital of Sweden, commonly go by land to Abo: there they take ſhip, and, ſteering through the numerous iſlands which riſe in that part of the Gulf of Bothnia to the eaſtern ſhore of Aland, they croſs that iſland to its weſtern coaſt; where they again embark, and proceed directly through a more open ſea to Sweden. In winter, the paſſage acroſs the Gulf is not always practicable; for the channels between the numberleſs iſlands are moſtly frozen, ſo

as not to admit veſſels, yet ſeldom ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport carriages; and, when that happens, the remaining part of the open gulf, from Aland to the coaſt of Sweden, which is not ſprinkled with iſlands, is generally ſo embarraſſed with floating maſſes of ice, as to render the navigation extremely dangerous. The uſual way, therefore, in winter, and which we intended to have purſued, lies round the Gulf of Bothnia, through Torneo. We had anticipated the ſatisfaction we ſhould receive from paſſing a few days at a place rendered remarkable for the meaſurement of a degree by the celebrated Maupertuis; from making an excurſion into Lapland beyond the Arctic Circle; from obſerving the manners and cuſtoms of the natives; and from riding in ſledges drawn by rein-deer. But, alas! our curioſity was deſtined not to be gratified. Upon conſulting the governor of Louiſa, he informed us, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to proceed into Lapland; for if a general thaw ſhould take place, which ſeemed very likely to happen, we ſhould not be able to continue our route in ſledges; and as we could not procure any carriages with wheels to convey us to Stockholm, we ſhould be obliged to proceed by ſea, which in the ſpring of the

year

year is a very dangerous and uncertain navigation. He added alſo, that the paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia was at this time fortunately practicable; as the channels between the ſmall iſlands were ſufficiently frozen to bear ſledges, and the other part of the Gulf was not obſtructed with floating maſſes of ice. And when the governor perceived that, notwithſtanding the favourable opportunity of croſſing the Gulf of Bothnia, and the dangers which would neceſſarily attend our journey by land, we ſeemed eager to purſue our expedition to Lapland, he preſſed his advice with the moſt forcible reaſons; and would not deſiſt until he had even extorted a promiſe that we would proceed directly to Abo. The gentleman to whom we were indebted for this friendly remonſtrance, was a ſenſible well-informed old man, of Scotch extraction; and had ſerved during ſeveral years in France in the Royal Swediſh regiment. During a long converſation which we held with him, "You have "probably," he ſaid, "conceived a bad opi-"nion of Finland, from the regions which "you have already traverſed, which are the "moſt deſolate parts of the province; but I "aſſure you, that a few miles from the ſea-"coaſt it is a very agreeable country, fertile

" in paſture, rye, oats, and barley. From the " abundance of rivers and lakes, ſome of " which are of conſiderable length, an inland " navigation might eaſily be formed at little " expence, and facilitate a communication " between the different diſtricts."

Feb. 9. In purſuance of his advice, inſtead of continuing our route towards Lapland, we made our way to Abo. We ſet off at eight in the evening, and were lighted during the whole night by a beautiful *Aurora Borealis*: the thermometer was ſcarcely below freezing point. Our road lay near the ſhore of the Gulf of Bothnia, through a hilly, rocky, and woody country. I obſerved the ground thickly ſtrewed with detached maſſes of granite, as if broken by ſome violent convulſion. We frequently ſaw large flights of grouſe, black cocks, and ptarmigans. In theſe parts the large ſpecies of grouſe, called the cock of the wood, a bird almoſt equal in ſize to a ſmall turkey, is not uncommon; the moor-fowl and ptarmigans are very plentiful; but the black game is ſo abundant, that we ſeldom ſat down to dinner, even at the commoneſt inns, without being regaled with a brace of thoſe delicious birds. Having paſſed ſeveral large lakes, with which the country abounds,

abounds, and croſſed the frozen ſurface of a bay of the Gulf of Finland, we arrived on the enſuing morning at Helſingfors, which ſtands in a very romantic ſituation, upon a riſing ſhore, near ſeveral rocks and huge fragments of granite. Within a ſmall diſtance of Helſingfors, and cloſe to the Gulf, the Swedes were conſtructing a fortreſs, which, when finiſhed, will be the ſtrongeſt in theſe parts. The harbour is the moſt commodious in Finland.

Agreeably to an invitation from the governor of Helſingfors, to whom we applied for further information reſpecting our paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia, we repaired in the evening to a ball: the gentlemen and ladies all wore the new Swediſh dreſs *; and amuſed themſelves chiefly with minuets and Engliſh country-dances. The company were very polite and attentive to us, and ſeveral accoſted us in French.

Feb. 11. We quitted Helſingfors on the morning, and arrived at Abo, which is diſtant about 150 miles, on the evening of the 12th, through a tract of country that ſeemed better peopled than the other parts of Finland which

* See the deſcription and engravings of theſe dreſſes in the next chapter II.

we had hitherto traverſed; and which was diverſified with a beautiful mixture of hill and dale.

Abo, the capital of Swediſh Finland, lies upon the point where the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland unite: the town, which is not ill built, contains ſeveral brick houſes, but the generality are of wood painted red. The inhabitants export linen, corn, planks, and iron. We had ſcarcely arrived, when the burgomaſter of the town obligingly waited upon us; and on the following morning conducted us to the univerſity, which was founded in 1640 by Chriſtina, and endowed with the ſame privileges as that of Upſala. It contained in 1779 about 300 ſtudents. The collection in the library amounted to 3000 volumes, a catalogue of which was publiſhed in 1655, and a ſecond edition in 1685*. The books were removed in 1713 to Stockholm when the Ruſſians had poſſeſſion of the town; and were again reſtored to the univerſity upon the peace of Nyſtadt. There is alſo a ſchool at Abo, which was founded by Guſtavus Adolphus, for 300 ſcholars.

Feb. 13. About 40 miles from Abo we

* Arckenholtz Memoires de Chriſtine, Tom. II. p. 309.

arrived

arrived upon the Gulf of Bothnia; and paſſed over the frozen ſurface along a track marked with two rows of ſmall trees and boughs placed upright in the ice as a direction for travellers: we croſſed occaſionally ſeveral ſmall iſlands and rocks, ſeparated from each other by ſtraits from fifty yards to four or five miles in breadth. At midnight we ſtopped upon the iſland Variſala till break of day; as well from the dread of large holes in the ice which render travelling by night extremely hazardous; as becauſe our danger would have been extreme, if we had wandered from the path, and been loſt upon the wide expanſe of ice, which had nearly happened to colonel Floyd, as he thus deſcribes in his journal. "A "cowardly driver overturned me into the "ſnow, but the fall was gentle. Night came "on, at firſt very much overcaſt, but after- "wards illuminated by an *Aurora Borealis*, "which was, however, not in ſtreaks like "thoſe uſually in England, but a continued "glare of red light. We arrived at length "upon the Gulf, croſſed a ſheet of ice many "miles in length, and ſome ſmall rocky "iſlands, upon one of which my driver ſud- "denly turned into the yard of a peaſant's "cottage, and ſtopped. I ſoon perceived that "he

" he had loſt his way: inquiry being in vain " on my part, as I could not ſpeak the lan- " guage, I encouraged him by ſigns to en- " deavour to regain the track; he complied, " but with ſuch ill-humour, that he drove " againſt a rock, and again overſet me, though " fortunately without any bad conſequence; " he then paſſed by a narrow way through a " wood, and ſoon arrived at the edge of the " iſland. I liſtened eagerly for the ſound of " the other ſledges, but to no purpoſe; then, " anxiouſly looking around me, I deſcried at " ſome diſtance the boughs which mark the " road over the ice; and, inſtantly pointing " it out, we purſued the path, and after ſeveral " miles overtook my companions, determined " never again to loſe ſight of the laſt ſledge. In " croſſing, however, another iſland, the ſledge " which immediately preceded mine ſuddenly " ſtopped: we had again loſt the way, but " ſoon recovered it, and joined the party."

Upon Variſala we found a comfortable village; the inhabitants were Fins, and ſpoke only the Finniſh tongue.

Feb. 14. We ſet out early: the weather was hazy and unpromiſing, and a ſtrong breeze began to freſhen. The poſt was about 18 miles in length: we paſſed many ſmall iſlands and rocks;

rocks; ſome covered with underwood, and ſprinkled with villages; others were nothing but bare granite, without a ſingle habitation or tree. In a few places the ice of the Gulf was a ſmooth ſheet; in others it was roughly frozen in waves and large maſſes. The vaſt extended plain of ice, broken in abrupt ridges, the boundleſs and dreary track marked only by a line of trees and boughs, and the rugged rocks ſtarting up on every ſide, afforded one of the moſt deſolate ſcenes imaginable.

We changed horſes at Brando, an iſland which contained ſix or ſeven villages; a church; ſome arable land; and ſmall woods. About three we arrived upon the iſland Kumblinge, 36 miles from Variſala; and as the next poſt was above thirty miles; we prudently took up our quarters in a peaſant's cottage, rather than again encounter the hazards of a journey by night. The peaſants were well clothed; the men wore long cloth coats lined with ſheep-ſkin; the women a ſtriped kind of woollen ſtuff, of mixed colours, chiefly green, white, and red: they ſeemed very honeſt; and our ſervants had no occaſion to employ the ſame vigilance in watching the luggage as was requiſite in Ruſſia*. The cottages were

* See Vol. I. p. 378.

built

built like thoſe in Ruſſia, with whole trees piled one upon the other, and mortaiſed and tenanted at each extremity; the timbers of ſeveral were ſawed on the outſide in the form of planks. They generally contain two or three apartments, ſmall, but neat and clean; have all brick chimnies, and a ſemicircular fire-place high and narrow, in which the wood is placed upright, and by means of birch-bark inſtantaneouſly kindled. The villagers poſſeſſed many conveniences of life, which we did not meet with in Ruſſia; particularly beds, and a greater variety of houſehold furniture.

While our dinner was preparing, we ſtrolled to a windmill ſituated on an eminence; from whence we commanded a full view of the iſland, which ſeemed a huge pile of rocks of red and grey granite. Near the village we obſerved three or four fields which had been ſown with rye, and at a little diſtance a ſmall wood of firs and birch; in the other parts we could diſcover nothing but juniper and moſs. Beſide the hut in which we were lodged, it contained a church and a few ſcattered cottages. The inhabitants of Kumblinge ſpoke the Swediſh language. The ſevere froſt of the preceding day was ſucceeded by a ſudden

den thaw, accompanied with rain and ſleet; and in the evening a violent hurricane came on; we heard on all ſides the cracking of the ice ſounding like the exploſions of thunder, and which alarmed us with the dread of being detained in ſo dreary a ſpot: for if, as we had reaſon to apprehend, the ice had been broken up, it could not have been paſſed in ſledges; and a continuance of the thaw for a fortnight at leaſt would have been requiſite, before any communication by water could have been formed with the continent or neighbouring iſlands. The wind increaſing to a moſt violent degree towards midnight, and the noiſe from the burſting of the ice redoubling, we imagined that a conſiderable delay was unavoidable; and began to inquire whether the inhabitants were furniſhed with ſufficient proviſions to ſupply our wants and their own. We were happy to find that four cows, a few hogs, and poultry, and a large ſtore of hard bread, which they bake twice in the year, were more than ſufficient to remove all apprehenſions of famine during a much longer period than we were likely to remain upon the iſland. Fortunately, however, we did not put theſe reſources to the trial: towards morning the wind ſubſided, and the rents

in

in the ice not appearing dangerous, we were able to continue our route at ſun-riſe. It was a moſt delightful day; in the morning the mercury in the thermometer ſtood at two degrees above freezing point, and at noon roſe to five; the ſun ſhone with ſuch brightneſs, and the weather was ſo clear and warm, that we might almoſt have imagined it to have been ſummer, if we had not been undeceived by the frozen maſs around us. On the preceding day the whole ſcenery was uniformly enveloped with ſhow, which having been melted, the ſurface of the Gulf became a pure expanſe of ice: the diſtance to the next poſt was about 35 miles, and much leſs diverſified with iſlands than the parts which we had paſſed previous to our arrival at Kumblinge. In one place we traverſed a level ſheet of ice, at leaſt ten miles in length, unbroken with a ſingle rock or iſland; but as the late ſtorm had produced ſeveral apertures, and as the thaw greatly increaſed, we went on with caution; and were preceded by a guide, who carried a hatchet and plumbing iron: with the former he occaſionally cut the ice, and with the latter he meaſured its thickneſs; in order to aſcertain whether it was ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport our ſledges. In ſome places he

he made a conſiderable circuit to avoid an aperture; often called out to the drivers to keep at ſome diſtance from each other; and repeatedly warned them to follow the preciſe track which he purſued. In this manner he conducted us in about eight hours, and without the leaſt accident, to the Iſle of Aland.

Aland, which gives to this cluſter of iſlands the general appellation of the Iſles of Aland, is about 40 miles in length, and from 12 to 16 in breadth: it contains about fifteen villages, and 9,000 inhabitants; they ſpeak the Swediſh language, but are included in the government of Finland, both as to ſpiritual and temporal affairs. The baſis of the ſoil ſeemed to be granite, of the ſame nature with the ſhores of Finland, and of the numerous iſlands which we had lately traverſed; and the whole aſſemblage of them looked like a ridge of rocks, which had been once joined to each other and to the continent, but undermined and ſeparated by the ſea.

We changed horſes at Varyat, Scarpats, Harolſby, Enkerby, and Trebenka. Between Scarpats and Harolſby we deſcended into a broader and more cultivated plain than we had obſerved ſince we had quitted Finland: it contained arable and paſture land, a lake,

and a river. In the midſt of this plain ſtand, upon an inſular rock of red granite, the ruins of an antient palace, called Caſtelholm, which, as it is remarkable in the hiſtory of Sweden, we ſtopped to examine. It commands a pleaſing, though bounded proſpect of two ſmall lakes, whoſe banks riſe into gentle eminences ſkirted with wood. The caſtle is partly built with red granite of a very beautiful colour and grain, and partly with brick. To this ſolitary rock, Eric XIV. ſon and ſucceſſor of Guſtavus Vaſa, was, in 1571, confined by his brother John III. The dungeon, in which he was impriſoned, ſtill bears the name of the apartment of Eric. In order to gain acceſs to it, we crawled through an arch upon our hands and knees, on account of the heaps of ſtones and bricks which obſtructed the paſſage: we then came into the ſhell of a large apartment, from whence we entered a ſmall room; and having aſcended a ladder of nine or ten ſteps, many of which were broken, and which from its antiquity was probably the very ladder that exiſted in the days of the royal priſoner, we paſſed through a trap door into the apartment of Eric. It is about 20 feet long and 11 broad; low and vaulted; and has only one ſmall opening to admit the light,

light, which is ſcarcely more than two inches in breadth. I ſhall have occaſion in another place to mention the ſufferings and cataſtrophe of this very unfortunate ſovereign.

Having gratified our curioſity at Caſtelholm, we continued our route during the night; the ſnow being all melted by the thaw, our journey was tedious and diſagreeable; our ſledges were ſlowly dragged over the rocky and ſandy roads; ſo that we did not, before five in the morning, reach the place of embarkation upon the weſtern ſhore of the iſland. The wind blowing directly contrary, we took up our lodging at the poſt-houſe, and retired reluctantly to reſt; but were awakened about ten, with the agreeable news that it was ſhifted, and that we might be able to croſs the Gulf. The only decked veſſel which this place afforded being ice-bound, we had no other reſource but two open boats, manned with a pilot, five or ſix fiſhermen, and about ten peaſants; but, as the weather was fine, we ordered our baggage on board, and embarked at mid-day. The diſtance to the oppoſite coaſt is 49 miles. The firſt part of this paſſage was interſperſed with ſeveral ſmall rocky iſlands, one of which appeared inhabited; but from the extremity of the laſt iſland, which is about

35 miles from the continent of Sweden, the ſea is entirely open. From that point we had a fine breeze, which carried us at the rate of ſeven knots in the hour; and we were within ſix miles of the coaſt about ſun-ſet, with the proſpect of a ſpeedy diſembarkation; but ſoon afterwards the breeze ſlackened, and was followed by a calm, which laſted about half an hour; when the wind roſe in the oppoſite quarter, and blew directly from ſhore. In this ſituation the night overtook us; the gale freſhened; the ſea ran high; the coaſt was rocky and full of breakers; our veſſel a crazy open fiſhing boat; and the greateſt part of our crew wholly unexperienced. We in vain endeavoured by tacking and rowing to reach the ſhore; and we began to be ſeriouſly alarmed, leſt we ſhould not be able to weather the ſtorm: in this ſtate of anxiety we continued until midnight, the gale hourly increaſing; when at length by a fortunate tack and inceſſant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coaſt: we inſtantly hauled down the ſails, and rowed for a conſiderable time, though ſtill without being able, on account of the breakers, to find a proper place for landing. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, we at laſt drove the boat upon ſhore; and diſembarking, after much

pains,

pains, upon a ſhelving hill of ice, we crawled upon our hands and knees; and gained the land, though with much difficulty. We here eſcaped a danger, which at the time we did not apprehend; as we were afterwards informed that theſe ſhelves of ice are frequently full of large holes, into which had we fallen we muſt inevitably have periſhed. Having providentially eſcaped theſe and other perils, we procured a guide from an adjacent cottage; and proceeded to Griſlehamn, about the diſtance of three miles. We walked through woody and rugged ways, half melted ice, ſometimes above our ancles in water, repeatedly falling down, but exceedingly happy that we were upon land: for we heard the wind blowing very boiſterouſly, and the breakers roaring with increaſing violence. About three in the morning we arrived at the inn; and at five, the other bark, containing our ſervants and baggage, landed with ſtill greater difficulty than we had experienced, and after having narrowly eſcaped being wrecked upon the rocks: the ſailors were ſo terrified that they cried; and our courier was inceſſantly employed in croſſing himſelf, and exclaiming, "*Domine, non ſum dignus mori.*" "Lord, I am "not worthy to die."

Feb. 18. As the ſnow had totally diſappeared, the dragging of our ſledges over the bare ground was a work of ſuch difficulty and labour; that, notwithſtanding we began our journey about ten in the morning, and travelled till duſk; we were ſcarcely able to reach the village of Staby, which was diſtant only 20 miles from Griſlehamn; although half the route lay over large lakes and flooded marſhes, where we ſtill found the ice ſufficiently ſtrong. The experience of this day's journey convinced us to what a wretched ſituation we ſhould have been reduced, if we had purſued our courſe towards Lapland; and reminded us, how much we were indebted to the ſalutary remonſtrances of the governor of Louiſa.

We paſſed the night at Staby; and, as we found it impracticable to proceed any longer in ſledges, continued our journey the next morning in open carts, the only carriages we were able to procure. In this manner we journeyed to Stockholm; where, on account of various delays, we did not arrive until the following evening.

The diſtance from Griſlehamn, the place of our diſembarkation, to Stockholm, is above eighty miles; yet the country was ſo thinly peopled,

peopled, that we did not paſs through one town. The villages were few and ſmall, but very pictureſque, being moſtly ſituated upon the points of the craggy rocks, and frequently overhanging a lake. Many ſtraggling cottages and houſes were pleaſantly ſcattered over the face of the country, which was in general hilly, rocky, and covered with foreſts, corn, and paſture. After the dreary ſcenes which we had long been accuſtomed to, the herbage, juſt recovered from the ſnow under which it had been buried during the whole winter, was a grateful object; and it was remarkable, that both the graſs and blades of young corn had contracted a yellowiſh hue, and appeared as if they had been parched by a burning ſun. As we approached the capital, the country was extremely wild and rocky, and ſtill more thinly inhabited: I ſcarcely ever obſerved a more deſolate, yet more pictureſque, region than the environs of Stockholm. We entered that city on the evening of the 20th of February; and immediately drove to an inn in the center of the town; where we met with excellent apartments, and every accommodation we could deſire, to alleviate the fatigues of our late journey.

CHAP. II.

Deſcription of Stockholm. — *Preſentation to the king.* — *Court.* — *New* Swediſh *dreſs.* — *Public ſuppers.* — *Royal family.* — *Tombs and characters of* Magnus Ladiſlas, Charles Canutſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, Charles XI. *and* XII. — *Royal Academy of Sciences.* — *Its tranſactions.* — *Schools.* — *Converſation with a* Laplander *on the general ſtate of* Lapland. — *Similarity between the* Hungarian *and* Lapland *languages.*

THE foundation of Stockholm * is, by the beſt Swediſh writers, generally attributed to Birger Jarl, regent of the kingdom, about the middle of the 13th century, during the minority of his ſon Waldemar, who had been raiſed to the throne by the ſtates of the kingdom; but it was not before the laſt century that the royal

* The reader who is fond of ſuch inquiries, may conſult Dalins Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. II. p. 178, upon the derivation of the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many abſurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

reſidence was transferred from Upſala to this city.

During the courſe of my travels, I have ſeen no town with whoſe ſituation I was ſo much ſtruck as with that of Stockholm, for its ſingular and romantic ſcenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies, beſide two peninſulas, ſeven ſmall rocky iſlands, ſcattered in the Mæler, in the ſtreams which iſſue from that lake, and in a bay of the Baltic. A variety of contraſted and enchanting views are formed by numberleſs rocks of granite riſing boldly from the ſurface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houſes, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Baltic: the water is of ſuch depth that ſhips of the largeſt burthen can approach the quay, which is of conſiderable breadth, and lined with ſpacious buildings and warehouſes. At the extremity of the harbour ſeveral ſtreets riſe one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the ſummit. Towards the ſea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow ſtrait, and, winding among high rocks, diſappears from the ſight; and the proſpect is terminated

by diſtant hills, overſpread with foreſt. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate theſe ſingular views. The central iſland, from which the city derives its name, and the Riddarholm, are the handſomeſt parts of the town. Excepting in the ſuburbs, where ſeveral houſes are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of ſtone, or brick ſtuccoed white. The royal palace, which ſtands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the higheſt ſpot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular ſtone edifice; and the ſtyle of architecture is both elegant and magnificent.

Feb. 23. At ſeven in the evening we accompanied the Engliſh miniſter, Sir Thomas Wroughton, to court, to have the honour of being preſented to Guſtavus III. All the company in the drawing-room, the foreign miniſters and ourſelves excepted, wore the national habit lately introduced into this country by his preſent Majeſty. The dreſs of the men reſembles the old Spaniſh, and conſiſts of a ſhort coat, or rather jacket, a waiſtcoat, a cloak, a hat with a feather *à la Henry IV.* a ſaſh round the waiſt, a ſword, large and full breeches, and roſes in the ſhoes: the

C. Ruotte fecit.

A SWEDISH GENTLEMAN in the COURT DRESS.

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Ch.t Ruotte sculp. Londini.

A SWEDISH LADY in the COURT DRESS.

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the cloak is of black cloth edged with red ſattin; the coat or jacket, and breeches, are alſo black, ornamented with red ſtripes and buttons; the waiſtcoat, the ſaſh, the pinks at the knees, and roſes for the ſhoes, are of red ſattin. The dreſs of the ladies is a black ſilk robe with ſlit ſleeves puffed with white gauze, coloured ſaſh and ribbands. This is the uſual court apparel. On ſolemn feſtivals the men wear white or blue cloth or ſattin, lined and ſtriped with red ſattin; the women white ſilk or ſattin, with coloured ribbands and ſaſh. The men, who have not been preſented at court, are dreſſed almoſt entirely in black, without any red lining and ornaments; and the women of the ſame deſcription muſt not appear with the white gauze ſleeves. In other reſpects, their attire is ſimilar to that juſt deſcribed.

About half paſt ſeven, the king and queen entered the drawing-room, both in the national habit. His majeſty paſſed gradually from one end of the apartment to the other; addreſſed himſelf to different perſons with great vivacity; and ſaluted, according to the etiquette of the court, every ſenator's lady. Being preſented to the king and queen, his majeſty did us the honour to converſe with each

each of us for a conſiderable time, with great condeſcenſion and affability. At the concluſion of this ceremony they withdrew into an adjacent apartment, and were followed by great part of the company. The king played at *trente et quarante* with about twenty perſons; and the queen ſat down to *ombre*. About nine, their majeſties quitted play, and, repairing to another apartment, ſupped in public: the princeſs Sophia Albertina was the only perſon who ſat down to table with them, that honour being on theſe occaſions confined to the royal family. Oppoſite to their majeſties, at a ſmall diſtance from the lower end of the table, were ranges of taboarets or ſtools for ſenators' and ambaſſadors' wives, no other ladies being permitted to ſit, ſo that none below thoſe ranks ever make their appearance at theſe entertainments.

The ſtricteſt adherence to form is obſerved in this court: while many ſovereigns of Europe are endeavouring to retrench the ceremonies attendant on royalty, Guſtavus III. has introduced a degree of pomp and etiquette ſimilar to that uſed at Verſailles, and hitherto unknown in this country. The king appears to poſſeſs too enlarged an underſtanding to be,

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Ch.s Ruotte Sculp. Londini

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in this inſtance, a ſervile imitator of the French: it is therefore more probable, that his motive for this conduct is in ſome meaſure political; as the increaſe of royal prerogative may have rendered it expedient to throw an additional ſplendour round the majeſty of the throne. During ſupper the king talked almoſt inceſſantly with the Swediſh nobility, and the foreign miniſters and gentlemen who ſtood near his perſon.

On the following Tueſday, at the ſame ceremony of a drawing-room and a public ſupper, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me above half an hour upon various points of the Swediſh hiſtory. He delighted me with many lively remarks and judicious reflections upon the different characters of the kings of Sweden: and particularly expatiated with rapture upon the eminent qualities of Guſtavus Vaſa and Guſtavus Adolphus, who ſeemed the favourite objects of his admiration. Among other topics he mentioned the propoſal made by Eric XIV. to eſpouſe our Elizabeth, and the ſplendid embaſſy of that monarch's brother John to London, for the purpoſe of demanding her in marriage; adding, that this tranſaction had

eſcaped

eſcaped the notice of many of the Engliſh hiſtorians; and that even Hume, who in general pays greater attention to foreign affairs, had touched on it only in a very curſory manner: he concluded by obſerving, that Celſius, in his excellent Life of Eric XIV *, had given a very curious and circumſtantial account of John's embaſſy, and of the whole correſpondence between Eric and Elizabeth.

As our ſtay at Stockholm was very ſhort, I had no further opportunity of enjoying thoſe agreeable and inſtructive converſations with which I might have been indulged by his majeſty's uncommon condeſcenſion. Guſtavus III. was born on the 24th of January, 1746; in 1771 aſcended the throne upon the demiſe of his father Adolphus Frederic; and in the courſe of the following year effected the revolution which conſiderably extended the regal authority. By his queen, Sophia Magdalena, daughter of Frederic V. late king of Denmark, he has iſſue Guſtavus Adolphus, prince royal of Sweden, and Charles Guſtavus,

* The original of this excellent work is written in Swediſh; there is a French tranſlation which I read with great pleaſure, particularly the part to which the king alluded. See Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. par Olof Celſius.

ſince

ſince deceaſed. The other members of the royal family are his majeſty's brothers, prince Charles duke of Sudermanland, who eſpouſed Hedwige princeſs of Lubec, and prince Frederic Adolphus duke of Eaſt-Gothland; and a ſiſter, the princeſs Sophia Albertina.

The queen dowager, to whom we had the honour of being preſented at her palace of Frederickſhof, and who is ſince dead, was Louiſa Ulrica, ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia; a princeſs who reſembled her brother, as well in the features of her countenance, as in thoſe eminent abilities which characterize the houſe of Brandenburgh. An unfortunate miſunderſtanding had for ſome time taken place between her and his Swediſh majeſty: it was chiefly occaſioned by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accuſtomed to rule the cabinet with abſolute authority in the reign of her huſband, expected to retain the ſame influence during that of her ſon: but as the monarch, who had emancipated himſelf from the ſhackles of an ariſtocracy, had too much ſpirit to be governed by a woman; the diſappointment of her views drew from her frequent expoſtulations and bitter remonſtrances; which, joined to circumſtances of too delicate

delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned, terminated at length in an open rupture. Her majeſty died at Stockholm in the month of July, 1782.

Agreeably to my uſual attention to tombs and monuments, I did not omit paying a viſit to the ſepulchres of the kings of Sweden, whoſe remains are interred in the church of Riddarholm. The firſt of theſe monarchs is Magnus Ladulas, ſon of Birger Jarl, who, having forced his brother to abdicate, aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1274, and died in 1290, with the character of a wiſe and prudent monarch; although he entailed upon his kingdom a long ſeries of civil feuds and commotions, by dividing it into different fiefs, and beſtowing them upon his three ſons. His aſhes are covered by a tomb of ſtone, which ſtands before the altar; and near it is the ſepulchre of Charles Canutſon, who was elected king when the Swedes firſt broke the union of Calmar. In his conteſt for the crown he found ſuch powerful rivals in the kings of Denmark, that, from the time of his firſt aſcending the throne to his death, Sweden was rent into two violent parties, which, as they alternately prevailed, Charles

was

was one moment a king, and the next an exile; and his depoſitions and reſtorations were ſo frequent, that it remains to be queſtioned, whether, during the æra of his reign, he was not oftener a titular, than a real ſovereign. He was, however, in full poſſeſſion of the regal authority, when he died at Stockholm in 1470 *.

The next ſovereign, though after a long interval, whoſe remains are depoſited in this church, is Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe eminent civil and military virtues raiſed Sweden to the higheſt degree of renown; and who was one of thoſe few princes that never engaged in war but upon the juſteſt grounds. The greateſt commander of an age, which abounded in great generals, he ſtood up an advocate for liberty and toleration, againſt tyranny, perſecution, and bigotry; and laid the firſt foundation of that equal balance of power, which was afterwards ſettled by the peace of Weſtphalia. In 1632 he finiſhed his glorious career at the battle of Lutzen,

* The ſucceeding ſovereigns of the Houſe of Vaſa, excepting Charles IX. are interred at Upſala. See Chapter VI.

in

in the 38th year of his age: being amongſt the foremoſt of the combatants, he received a ball in his left arm, but ſtill kept the field till another pierced him through the body. Many of the Swedes aſſert, and ſtill believe, that this great monarch was treacherouſly killed by the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, who fought by his ſide. Upon examining, however, the proofs advanced in favour of this aſſertion, they amount merely to vague conjectures and uncertain traditions; and no ſubſtantial evidence has been ever produced which might tend to criminate the duke: it is more probable, indeed, that a general, who was remarkable for his courage, and who raſhly expoſed his perſon on all occaſions, ſhould receive his death from the enemy, than from one of his own aſſociates; unleſs the contrary ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt undoubted facts.

A few years ago, prince Henry of Pruſſia, being at Stockholm, deſcended into the vault; and opened the coffin which contains the remains of Guſtavus. A Swediſh nobleman, who accompanied the prince into the vault, aſſured me, that the body was in a ſtate of complete preſervation; that the countenance ſtill

ſtill retained the moſt perfect reſemblance to his pictures and coins; and particularly, that the whiſkers and ſhort pointed beard, which he wore, according to the faſhion of the times in which he lived, were diſtinctly viſible. A common obſerver is ſtruck with a reverential awe on beholding only the repreſentation of a deceaſed hero remarkable for his great virtues; what then muſt have been the ſenſations of prince Henry in contemplating the real remains of the great Guſtavus, whom he admires and emulates!

In Guſtavus Adolphus ended the male line of the Houſe of Vaſa: ſince his time all the monarchs of the female branch are interred in this church, excepting his daughter Chriſtina *, who exhibits a ſtriking example, that though it becomes all ſovereigns to protect the arts and ſciences, yet that they deſerve cenſure if their literary purſuits interfere with the more neceſſary occupations of government. In Chriſtina we ſee a princeſs diſcrediting her great endowments by a vain parade and affectation of ſingularity; apoſtatizing to a religion which ſhe affected to ridicule and deſpiſe; while upon the throne deſirous of a private

* She was buried at Rome.

ſtation; and after ſhe had attained it by a voluntary ſacrifice of her authority, inceſſantly repining, and anxious to recover, upon the moſt humiliating conditions, that crown which ſhe had ſo capriciouſly reſigned.

Charles Guſtavus, in whoſe favour ſhe abdicated, and who is buried in a vault of the church, was ſon of Caſimir, prince palatine of the Rhine, and of Catharine, ſiſter of Guſtavus Adolphus. His conduct towards Chriſtina was a maſter-piece of policy: he propoſed to eſpouſe her, yet hoped that ſhe would not accept his propoſals; openly remonſtrated againſt her abdication, yet ſecretly contrived to fortify her reſolutions; and appeared leaſt eager for the crown in the moment when he was moſt ambitious to wear it. Bred in the military ſchool of Germany, he inherited the warlike, rather than the civil virtues of his uncle Guſtavus Adolphus; and was one of thoſe great, but reſtleſs ſpirits, who eſteem war as the ſole occupation worthy of a monarch; and who, while they are adding to their own laurels, diſregard the miſeries and diſtreſſes of their ſubjects. Under his adminiſtration, Sweden acquired an high degree of renown; and nothing leſs than the appearance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets in the Baltic could

have ſtopped the progreſs of his arms; have interpoſed to ſave Denmark; or again reduced the balance of the Northern powers to its proper equilibrium. Arreſted in the midſt of his career by a premature death, he expired at Gotheborg, on the 23d of February 1660, after a ſhort reign of only ſix years.

" Il n'avoit," writes the hiſtorian of Denmark, " que trente-ſix ans, et ſes derniéres " années avoient été auſſi occupées, ou plûtot " auſſi agitées, que les précédentes avoient " été tranquilles et oïſives. Quand on con- " ſidére tout ce que ce prince avoit fait pen- " dant ce court période de ſa vie; ſa paſſion, ſes " talents pour la guerre, ſon activité, ſon am- " bition ſans bornes, le reſpect et la terreur " qu'il avoit inſpirés au dedans et au dehors " de ſes etats, on ne peut s'empêcher de re- " garder ſa mort prématurée, comme un de ces " événemens auxquels étoit attaché le ſort " d'une grande partie de l'Europe: Et pour " ne parler que de la Suéde, à quel degré de " gloire et de miſére ne l'eut-il pas ſans doute " portée, s'il eut fourni la carriére que la " nature accorde à la plupart des hommes, mais " que le ciel dans ſa pitié refuſe d'ordinaire aux " conquerans. Quelques revers, et la vue d'une " fin prochaine, avoient donc eclairé Charles " Guſtave ſur la vanité de tous ſes ambitieux

" deſſeins: en recommendant a ſes ſucceſſeurs " de faire promptement la paix, il donnoit " une grande leçon à ſes pareils; et c'eſt là " ſans doute le trait de ſon hiſtoire le plus " precieux aux yeux de la raiſon et de l'huma- " nité*."

His ſon and ſucceſſor Charles XI. whoſe remains are depoſited near thoſe of his father, has been reprobated by many foreign hiſtorians as an odious tyrant; but his character, if

* Mallet Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, Vol. III. p. 432. " At his death he was only ſix and thirty years of age, and " the laſt years of his life were as agitated as the preceding " part had been tranquil. When we contemplate all the " actions which this prince performed during the ſhort " period of his exiſtence; his talents for war, his activity, " his boundleſs ambition, the reſpect and terror which he " impreſſed equally upon his ſubjects and his enemies, we " muſt conſider his death as an event that could not but " affect the intereſt of the greateſt part of Europe: and with " reſpect to Sweden, to what a degree of glory and wretch- " edeneſs would he not have carried her, if he had attained " that period of life which nature generally grants to the " greateſt part of mankind, but which Heaven, in its com- " paſſion, moſt commonly refuſes to conquerors. A reverſe " of fortune, and the approach of death, had fully expoſed to " him the vanity of his ambitious deſigns. In recom- " mending an immediate peace to his ſucceſſor, he af- " forded a moſt ſtriking leſſon to other ſovereigns; and " this perhaps is the moſt exemplary particular of his " hiſtory in the conſideration of reaſon and humanity."

inſpected

inſpected without prejudice, ſo far from deſerving that imputation, will in many inſtances merit our reſpect and eſteem. An unfavourable idea of his deſpotic principles has been formed from his reſumption of many crown lands, which reduced ſeveral families to poverty; and from his mode of liquidating the public debts, by raiſing the nominal worth of the coin without increaſing its real value. Although it cannot be denied that ſome of theſe meaſures were oppreſſive and violent: yet when we conſider the exhauſted ſtate of the finances derived from the boundleſs profuſion of Chriſtina *; the ruinous wars of Charles Guſtavus, and the diſorders of a long minority; we cannot but aſſent to the opinion of the moſt unprejudiced Swedes; that, though the reform introduced by Charles was in ſome inſtances prejudicial to individuals, yet upon the whole it was ſalutary to the country; and that nothing leſs than the moſt violent meaſures could have extricated his ſubjects from the deplorable and exhauſted ſtate to which they were reduced. In one point of view

* The principal nobles, during the minority of Charles XI. took advantage of a weak government to appropriate the few crown lands which Chriſtina had not alienated.

Charles merited and gained the love and eſteem of his people: notwithſtanding his natural ardour for military glory, he invariably perſiſted in pacific meaſures *; and while he preſerved his own country from the horrors of war, mediated the peace of Europe. To Charles XI. may be aſcribed, what Boileau falſely attributed to Louis XIV. that he was his own miniſter †; and what could not have been ſaid of the French monarch without flattery, would not have been adulation, if the

* "His peaceable conduct may perhaps more juſtly be "aſcribed to the ſtate of his affairs, than his own nature, "which more powerfully inclines him to the fatigue of a "camp, than the eaſe of a court; and ſuits better with a "martial familiarity, than the ſhews of grandeur, and the "ſolemnities of ſtate." Biſhop Robinſon's Account of Sweden.

"His majeſty's," ſays Robinſon, "moſt diligent in-"ſpection into all the affairs of his kingdom, beſides that "it makes all his miniſters more circumſpect, hath gained "him a great ſtock of experience. The ſmalleſt matters "are not below his notice; and nothing of any moment is "concluded before he hath been conſulted: this is the "employment of all his time, ſcarce any hour of the day "paſſing from five in the morning, when he conſtantly "riſes, in which buſineſs of one nature or other is not "before him."

† Et qui ſeul, ſans miniſtre, à l'example des dieux,
Soutiens tout par Toi-meme, & vois tout par tes yeux.
Boileau, Diſcours au Roi.

poet

poet had applied it to the Swediſh king. Charles was chaſte, temperate, œconomical, vigilant, and active; a patron of letters; ſevere, yet not implacable; prone to anger, but eaſily ſoftened. If we conſider the interior adminiſtration of affairs, Charles XI. was one of the wiſeſt monarchs who ever ſat upon the throne of this kingdom. To him Sweden ſtands indebted for many excellent regulations which ſtill ſubſiſt. In a word, he was what Philip of Macedon was to Alexander, the precurſor of his ſon's greatneſs, and the founder of his victories: for without the army which he had diſciplined and improved, and the treaſure which he had collected, Charles XII. could never have withſtood the combined forces of all the Northern powers; nor could he have puſhed his conqueſts with that celerity which aſtoniſhed and confounded all Europe. Charles XI. was born on the 25th of November 1655, and died on the 24th of April 1697, aged 42; lamenting, it is ſaid, upon his death-bed, as the only reproach to his memory, the natural violence of his temper *, which he had not ſufficiently corrected.

* Schloetzer's Brieſwechfel, Vol. I. p. 147.

The tomb of Charles XII. is a raiſed ſepulchre of dark marble; it has no other inſcription than his name: over it are laid in caſt bronze a club and lion's ſkin, which mark more forcibly than any words

——— " his unconquerable will
" And courage never to ſubmit or yield *."

It would be needleſs to dwell upon a character ſo well known, as that of Charles XII. whoſe ambition was madneſs, and whoſe valour was ferocity. I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to one anecdote atteſted by the moſt reſpectable authority †.

Among many converſations with his friend count Poniatowſki, the latter recollected one, in which Charles, after various reflections upon his brilliant ſucceſſes, which he modeſtly attributed rather to his good fortune than to his good conduct, expreſſed an intention of marrying; and planned for himſelf a life of tranquillity in his own kingdom; when he would pay greater attention to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real intereſts of his ſubjects.

* Milton.

† I had the honour of receiving this anecdote from the king of Poland, who had it from his father count Poniatowſki.

This

This anecdote, which is unknown to all his biographers, will ſhow, that even his ſavage ſpirit, that ſeemed to breathe nothing but war, was not always inſenſible to more peaceful comforts, and to the pleaſing proſpect of domeſtic happineſs. Whether this project was merely an idea of the moment, or ſeriouſly intended to be carried into execution, cannot now be aſcertained; but he certainly had removed its accompliſhment to a diſtant period: for, at the time of his ſudden death, he was expecting with patience the concluſion of a treaty with Peter the Great; not to reſtore peace to his diſtracted country, but, in alliance with Ruſſia and Spain, to dethrone the king of Poland, to ſeat the pretender upon the throne of Great-Britain, and to rekindle in Europe a general war. Charles XII. was killed at the ſiege of Fredricſhall on the 30th of November 1718, in the 36th year of his age; and it remains to this day uncertain whether he was ſhot by a ball from the enemy's batteries, or fell by the hands of an aſſaſſin *.

The remaining ſovereigns who lie interred in this church, are Ulrica Eleonara, ſiſter of Charles XII. who aſcended the throne of

* See the next chapter.

Sweden

Sweden only to reſign it to her huſband Frederic I.: that monarch, and the late king Adolphus Frederic, were mere pageants of royalty, who wielded a ſceptre without power; and whoſe hiſtory contains little more than the æra of their ſucceſſion, and the time of their death.

Beſide the ſovereigns of Sweden, this church contains the aſhes of Baner, a general, who no leſs deſerves mention than the moſt illuſtrious monarch; if we eſtimate his deſerts by the ſervice which he rendered to his country.

John Baner, of an illuſtrious Swediſh family, was born in 1601; and, receiving a very excellent education, made ſo great proficiency in literature, that Guſtavus Adolphus uſed to call him his learned general. Whilſt a boy, he attracted by his magnanimity the notice of that monarch, who pronounced him formed for great events, and placed him in the army; where he ſoon ſignalized himſelf in ſo particular a manner, that, under twenty years of age, he was employed by him in many critical enterprizes, which required no leſs dexterity than bravery. After the death of Guſtavus he ſupported, as commander in chief, the luſtre of the Swediſh arms by a ſeries of victories,

victories, which raiſed his military character higher than that of any general of the age. He ſuſtained this reputation undiminiſhed until his death, which carried him off at Halberſtadt on the 10th of May 1641, in the 40th year of his age. Baner was not inſenſible of the glory which he had acquired by his great actions; but uſually ſpoke of them with great modeſty. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that he never formed any expedition, nor hazarded an action, without the moſt reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. He was equally feared and beloved by the ſoldiers; and always inſpired them with the moſt unbounded confidence. At the head of his troops he acted ſolely from himſelf, and without dependence; and would rather have reſigned the command, than have been directed in his military operations by the orders of the cabinet. "Why do ye think," he would ſay to his confidents, "that Gallas and Picolo-"mini cannot be ſucceſsful againſt me, but "becauſe they dare not act without the con-"ſent of the Imperial miniſtry." He had the abſolute diſpoſal of all commiſſions; and eſtabliſhed in general a regular order of promotion: he was humane to the vanquiſhed enemy, extremely cautious not wantonly to expoſe

expoſe his troops to action; and blamed thoſe generals who in ſieges ſacrifice the lives of their men in order to raiſe their own military character. But though he was thus ſparing of his ſoldiers' blood, he was no leſs liberal of his own; being himſelf the braveſt perſon in his army, and too frequently ſeeking danger with a degree of raſhneſs ſcarcely pardonable in a general, but which he inherited from his maſter in the art of war, the great Guſtavus.

In our viſits to the Swediſh nobility, we found the ſame politeneſs and hoſpitality as among the Poles and Ruſſians, although much leſs magnificence and expence in their houſes, retinue, and entertainments, which ariſes from a circumſtance that muſt give pleaſure to every friend of humanity. The poſſeſſion of land not being in this country, as in Poland and Ruſſia, appropriated to any particular deſcription of men, property is more equally diffuſed; and ſuch vaſt accumulations of wealth or extent of domains do not center in the hands of a few grandees.

During our continuance at Stockholm, one day excepted, in which it ſnowed, we enjoyed as fine ſpring weather as I ever experienced in England. This favourable ſtate of the atmoſphere

atmoſphere is exceedingly uncommon at ſo early a ſeaſon in this Northern climate *, where frequently the ſnow remains upon the ground until the month of April; it was to us peculiarly agreeable, as it enabled us to make a few excurſions into the adjacent country, which, although in many parts deſolate and barren, is always rudely romantic; and frequently exhibits, amidſt a magnificent aſſemblage of rocks, lakes, and foreſt, agreeable ſpots of corn and paſture, numerous villages, and farm-houſes.

The Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm owes its inſtitution to ſix perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning, amongſt whom was the celebrated Linnæus: they originally met on the 2d of June 1739, formed a private ſociety, in which ſome diſſertations were read; and in the latter end of the ſame year their firſt publication made its appearance. As the meetings continued and the members encreaſed, the ſociety attracted the notice of the king; and was, on the 31ſt of March 1741, incorporated under the name of the Royal Swediſh Academy. Not receiving any penſion from

* Stockholm is ſituated in 59 degrees 20 minutes of northern latitude.

the

the crown, it is only under the protection of the king, being directed, like our Royal Society, by its own members. It has now a large fund, which has chiefly arisen from legacies and other donations; but a professor of experimental philosophy, and two secretaries, are still the only persons who receive any salaries. Each of the members resident at Stockholm becomes president by rotation, and continues in office during three months. There are two species of members, home and foreign; the election of the former is held in April, and of the latter in July: no money is paid at the time of admission. The dissertations read at each meeting are collected and published four times in the year; they are written in the Swedish language, and printed in octavo, and the annual publications make a volume. The first forty volumes, which were finished in 1779, are called the Old Transactions; for in the following year the title was changed into that of New Transactions. The king is sometimes present at the ordinary meetings, and particularly at the annual assembly in April for the election of members. Any person who sends a treatise which is thought worthy of being printed, receives the transactions for that quarter *gratis*,

and

and a ſilver medal; which is not eſteemed for its value, being worth only three ſhillings, but for its rarity and the honour conveyed by it. All the papers relating to agriculture are put forth ſeparately under the title of *Oeconomica acta*; of theſe, three volumes have been already publiſhed in 1775, 1777, 1779. Annual premiums, in money and gold medals, principally for the encouragement of agriculture and inland trade, are alſo diſtributed by the Academy. The fund for theſe prizes is ſupplied from private donations.

Sweden contains the three univerſities of Upſala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve ſeminaries for the education of youth, called *Gymnaſia*, of which ſix were founded by Chriſtina. In every large town there is alſo a ſchool maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue until they have attained the age of eleven, when they are ſent to the *Gymnaſia*, and from thence, at about ſixteen, to one of the univerſities. In the *Gymnaſia*, and many of the greater ſchools, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught. The biſhops inſpect theſe ſeminaries and ſchools in their reſpective dioceſes, in which they are bound to reſide.

Before my departure from Stockholm I was introduced

introduced to Mr. Oehrling, a Swede born at Arieplog, a ſmall village of Lapland: he had received his education in the univerſity of Upſala, and is a perſon of conſiderable knowledge. He was at that time employed in compiling a Lapland, Swediſh, and Latin Dictionary, which was publiſhed at Stockholm in 1780; a work highly uſeful, and extremely curious, to all perſons verſed in the ſtudy of languages *. Mr. Oehrling ſpoke the Latin and French tongues with great fluency: I had the ſatisfaction of converſing with him, and received from him the following information relative to Lapland and its inhabitants.

The Laplanders call themſelves Salme-Same, and Samen-Almatjeh. Their country they denominate Same-Landa or Same-aednam; the Swedes ſtyle it Lapland or Lappmarken, and the inhabitants Lappar. The natives of thoſe diſtricts under the dominion of Sweden and Denmark are Lutherans; while many of thoſe who are ſubjects to Ruſſia are ſtill Pagans. Swediſh Lapland contains about eight churches, which in ſome parts lie at ſo great a diſtance from

* Lexicon Lapponicum cum Interpretatione Vocabulorum Sueco-Latina et Indice Suecano Lapponico, illuſtratum Præfatione Latino-Suecana Johannis Ihre, nec non auctum Grammatica Lapponica a Dom. Erico Lindahl, et Johanne Oehrling.

each

each other, that a native is frequently obliged to travel three days in order to attend divine ſervice. Lapland, in general, is a vaſt region, but very thinly peopled. Near the Gulf the country is compoſed chiefly of granite rock, or is ſtrewed over with detached maſſes of that ſtone. The whole face of the inland is overſpread with immenſe tracts of foreſt; conſiſting chiefly of firs, larch, and ſmall beech, interſperſed with numerous lakes, which abound with fiſh. It yields paſture, and affords ſome corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat; and is capable of producing a greater quantity, if more of the natives could be induced to leave their wandering way of life, and cultivate the ground. The winter is very long and tedious, laſting nearly nine months: the ſnow frequently begins to fall towards the latter end of Auguſt, and remains upon the ground till the middle of May. The people are partly ſettled, and in part wild and roving: the latter live in tents made with coarſe cloth; the former are fixed in ſmall villages near the lakes, and chiefly follow fiſhing. They build their cottages ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cone, by placing a circle of large trees or polls aſlant in the earth, and cloſe to each other, ſo that their tops meet, and form a

ſmall vent for the iſſue of the ſmoke: they cover the ground within with branches of trees. In ſummer their clothes are made of coarſe cloth; in winter of the ſkins of rein deer *. In ſpring their food conſiſts principally

* In the Flora Lapponica Linnæus ſays, "Perhaps the "curious reader will wonder how the people in Lapland, "during the terrible cold that reigns there in winter, can "preſerve their lives; ſince almoſt all birds, and even ſome "wild beaſts, deſert it at that time. The Laplander, not "only in the day, but through the whole winter nights, is "obliged to wander about in the woods with his herds of rein-"deer; for the rein-deer never come under cover, nor eat "any kind of fodder but a particular kind of *liverwort*. On "this account the herdſmen are under a neceſſity of living "continually in the woods, in order to take care of their "cattle, leſt they ſhould be devoured by wild beaſts. The "Laplander eaſily does without more light, as the ſnow "reflects the rays that come from the ſtars, and as the "*Aurora Borealis* illuminates the air every night with a "great variety of figures. No part of our body is more "eaſily deſtroyed by cold than the extremities of the limbs, "which are moſt remote from the ſun of this microcoſm, "the heart. The kibes that happen to our hands and "feet, ſo common in the northern parts of Sweden, prove "this. In Lapland you will never ſee ſuch a thing, al-"though, were we to judge by the ſituation of the coun-"try, we ſhould imagine juſt the contrary; eſpecially as "the people wear no ſtockings, as we do, not only ſingle, "but double and triple. The Laplander guards himſelf "againſt the cold in the following manner. He wears

breeches

cipally of the eggs of water-fowl, which are extremely plentiful in thoſe parts; in ſummer and autumn, of the birds themſelves, and of various others of the partridge tribe *; and in winter

" breeches made of rein-deer ſkins with the hair on, reach-
" ing down to his heels; and ſhoes made of the ſame
" materials, the hairy part turned outwards. He puts into
" his ſhoes *ſlender-eared broad-leaved cyperus graſs*, *carex*
" *veſicaria*, *Spec. Pl.* (or the Bladder Carex), that is cut
" in ſummer and dried. This he firſt combs, and rubs
" in his hands, and then places it in ſuch a manner, that it
" not only covers his feet quite round, but his legs alſo;
" and being thus guarded, he is quite ſecured againſt the
" intenſe cold. With this graſs they ſtuff their gloves
" likewiſe, in order to preſerve their hands. As this
" graſs keeps off the cold in winter, ſo in ſummer it
" hinders the feet from ſweating, and at the ſame time
" preſerves them from being annoyed by ſtriking againſt
" ſtones, &c. for their ſhoes are very thin, being made,
" not of tanned leather, but the raw hide." Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 137, 138.

* " About autumn, when the lakes of Lapland begin to
" freeze, the water-fowl, which are found there in great
" abundance, migrate towards the South; and upon the
" firſt opening of the ſpring, they return in large flocks to
" their prior habitations, where they find a plentiful ſub-
" ſiſtence from the grubs of the gnats. Theſe grubs too
" ſerve for the food of the *tetraones*, or partridge tribe,
" thouſands whereof, and even myriads, are daily taken,
" and ſent to Stockholm. Theſe birds are caught in
" ſuch large quantities by the Laplanders, as to ſupply

winter of the milk and fleſh of the rein-deer, and dried fiſh: bread, which till very lately was totally unknown to them, now makes a part of their uſual diet. In winter, they journey in ſmall ſledges, made in the form of boats, drawn by rein-deer. Thoſe animals will travel almoſt the whole day without food, and only occaſionally moiſten their

" them with their ordinary proviſion in autumn, as the " eggs of the water-fowl are their ſupport in ſpring."
Holberg.

" Thoſe who have not ſeen it, will ſcarce believe what " numbers of water-fowl are to be met with upon this " river, to which the lake gives its name; and my water- " men would every now and then put in to ſhore, to look " for the eggs of wild ducks and geeſe amongſt the reeds, " which grow here and there upon the river ſide, or in the " little iſlands which in ſeveral places are formed in the " middle of the river; and that after the manner of the Lap- " landers, who get vaſt quantities of theſe eggs, and of the " wild fowl too, when in ſeaſon, as the old ones in winter, " and the goſlings and young ducks in ſummer, which " they have ſeveral ways of killing: but the moſt common, " and what they are the moſt expert at, is the ſhooting " them with their arrows, as they do their land ones; and " indeed the Laplanders are ſuch excellent archers, and their " prey is ſo very plenty, that ſhould one of them go out a " ſhooting for two hours, and not bring home a load of " game, he would certainly conclude that ſome enchanter, " who bore him a grudge, had out of mere ſpite ſpoiled " his ſport." Motraye's Travels, Vol. II. p. 301.

mouths

mouths with the ſnow: they do not, however, draw the ſledge with ſuch ſwiftneſs as is generally imagined; their common pace being at the rate of about four miles in the hour *. In ſummer they feed upon graſſes and alpine plants, in winter upon the *lichen rangiferinus* †, or rein-deer lichen, and its

* "Moſt of the rein-deer uſed for draught are caſtrated "when very young, and are larger and fatter than the "bucks: In the winter the Laplanders drive their caſtrated "deer in their ſledges: they harneſs them by a rope faſtened "to a collar, and carried between their legs; and direct "them by means of a bridle faſtened to their horns. Each "deer can draw the weight of one perſon, but rarely more. "If he is preſſed, he will travel ten or twelve Swediſh "miles (70 or 84 Engliſh miles), but by ſuch hard driving "is generally deſtroyed. It, however, frequently happens, "that he will perſevere in his journey 50 miles without in- "termiſſion, and without taking any refreſhment. He is "weak in the back, being fatigued with the weight even of "a ſaddle: for which reaſon the Laplanders, whenever they "travel in ſummer, and ſledges cannot be uſed, lay acroſs "the animal's back a pole, upon which they faſten a ſmall "burden." See Holberg's Account of the Cervus Tarandus in Amœnit. Academ. Vol. I. p. 169.

† For the œconomical and ſcientific deſcription of this Lichen, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's Flora Scotica, Vol. II. p. 877. Hagen's Tentamen Hiſtoriæ Lichenum, P. cxxvi. and particularly to Linnæi Flora Lapponica, P. 332; from whoſe accurate and comprehenſive account ſubſequent authors have principally derived their information.

varieties, which are ſo abundant as in many parts almoſt totally to cover the ground for the ſpace of ſeveral miles * ; and which the ſagacious animal diſcovers under the ſnow by the peculiar acuteneſs of its ſmell. I was farther informed by Mr. Oehrling, that the Laplanders, before their converſion to Chriſtianity, which was not till lately introduced amongſt them, poſſeſſed no books or manuſcripts, though they knew many traditional hiſtories and ſongs of antient heroes and princes, who once reigned over them; but involved in great uncertainty, and mixed with the moſt fabulous accounts. They have now a tranſlation of the New Teſtament in their language; and many of the natives are able to read and write. Upon my queſtioning him about the Lapland tongue, he anſwered with ſome diffidence, " that though he ima-" gined we are in general too apt to form an

* " Nullum vegetabile in totâ Lapponiâ tantâ in copiâ " reperitur ac hæc Lichenis ſpecies, et quidem primario in " ſylvis, ubi campi ſteriles arenoſi vel glareoſi, paucis pinis " conſiti, ibi enim non modo videbis campos per ſpatium " unius horæ, ſed ſæpe duorum triumve milliarium, nivis " inſtar albos, ſolo fere hocce Lichene obductos. Sic " natura ſeptentrionis quaſi inclinat in albedinem, frigoris " amaſiam." Flora Lappon.

" haſty

" haſty opinion of two languages being de-
" rived from the ſame ſtock, becauſe a few
" words in both are ſimilar, when perhaps
" the idiom and conſtruction are totally op-
" poſite; nevertheleſs, there appeared to him
" ſufficient reaſons for concluding that the
" Finniſh and Lapland tongues were dialects
" only of one and the ſame original." But what was moſt remarkable, he was of opinion that the Lapland idiom had an undoubted affinity with the Hungarian; for Sainovits, a learned Jeſuit, and a native of Hungary, who had accompanied the celebrated aſtronomer, Father Hell, into Lapland, to obſerve the Tranſit of Venus, has demonſtrated that the Hungarian and Lapland idioms are the ſame *: and he himſelf hath likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject †. I regretted that time would not permit the learned Swede to enter into a detail of all the reaſons which had induced him to adopt this hypotheſis: but we may conclude, that ſtrong probability lies on this ſide of the queſtion; when we find a native

* Johannis Sainovits, &c. Demonſtratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem eſſe.

† Diſſertatio Academica de convenientiâ Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Lapponicâ.

of Hungary, and a Swede born in Lapland, both men of letters, and both well verſed in the two dialects, affirming it from their own conviction, without any intercourſe or colluſion. Having both treatiſes in my poſſeſſion, which are extremely rare, I ſhall compriſe, in a ſhort compaſs, the arguments which ſeem to prove the ſimilarity of the two languages.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that a Laplander entering Hungary, or an Hungarian travelling into Lapland, would be immediately underſtood by the natives: for though the inhabitants of theſe two countries ſhould be unqueſtionably allowed to be branches from the ſame ſtock *; yet, as the ſeparation from that original took place at a time when they had no alphabet; it muſt follow, from the gradual change which all languages neceſſarily undergo in the lapſe of time, and by the adoption of words from the neighbouring nations, that each people could never have retained ſeparately *all* the primitive characte-

* No perſon in the leaſt converſant in the ſtudy of languages preſumes to doubt that the Engliſh, German, Dutch, Swediſh, and Daniſh are all derived from the antient Gothic or Teutonic, and yet theſe different nations do not underſtand each other.

riſtics

riſtics of their original tongue. It is ſufficient, if, in the general mode of pronunciation, in the ſimilarity of many words, and in the grammatical ſtructure of the phraſes, both nations retain a ſtrong degree of reſemblance; and thus much appears to be the caſe in the Hungarian and Lapland idioms.

In the firſt place, the pronunciation of the Lapland tongue is ſo extremely peculiar and difficult, that a Swede or Dane, unleſs educated from their infancy in the country, can never attain it; whereas Sainovits was able to catch the genuine accent without the leaſt difficulty, although, before his arrival in the country, he had not the leaſt acquaintance with their language; the articulation in many reſpects being ſo perfectly familiar to him, that, to uſe his own expreſſion, "while he "heard them converſing, he thought he was "in his own country*." The next proof of their affinity reſts upon the ſimilarity of particular words plainly proceeding from the ſame ſtock. Of theſe Sainovits has given a

* "Interea, quamvis Lapponibus voces enunciandi "modus ſingularis prorſus ſit, mihi tamen ita familiaris ac-"cidit, ut, dum ipſos ſermocinantes audirem, in patria, "inter Ungaros, me verſari crederem," P. 14.

vocabulary,

vocabulary, comprizing 150 common to both, and whoſe reſemblance cannot be doubted. As theſe expreſſions fell under his obſervation during a ſhort reſidence in the country; it is probable that, if he had continued there a longer time, he would have diſcovered many more. The two idioms are further demonſtrated to be the ſame, from a ſurprizing agreement in the declenſion of nouns; in the compariſon of adjectives; in a peculiar uſe of numerals, pronouns, affixes, ſuffixes, and prepoſitions; in the mode of conjugating verbs; and in the auxiliary verbs; for in all theſe circumſtances the two people differ as much from the nations bordering upon both, as they are analogous to each other: "So "that we may venture to conclude," adds Oehrling, "that the German does not ap-"proach nearer to the Swediſh, or the Chal-"dean to the Hebrew, than the Lapland to "the Hungarian."

From theſe premiſes the ſame ingenious author concludes, "that the Laplanders are "undoubtedly deſcended from the Huns; al-"though the preciſe time in which they ſe-"parated from the other branches of that "numerous nation cannot be aſcertained." He ventures, however, to conjecture, that

ſome

ſome of thoſe people penetrated into theſe regions long before the Huns, under Attila and his ſucceſſors, occupied Pannonia, ſince called from them Hungary; that they probably inhabited the ſouthern parts of Sweden, and being driven towards the north by the Goths under Oden, retired to the almoſt impervious mountains and inelement cold of Lapland; where they were no longer purſued by their invaders. Being ſettled in thoſe parts, their language, by a perpetual intercourſe with the Swedes and Norwegians, became gradually intermixed with foreign words, and ſplit into different dialects; ſtill retaining, however, evident traces of the original ſpoken by the Huns *, of whom they were a branch.

* The Huns, before they penetrated into Hungary, inhabited the inland parts of Siberia, and from thoſe quarters they probably paſſed through European Ruſſia, Livonia, Eſthonia, Finland, and Sweden. In Livonia and Eſthonia a language ſimilar to the Finniſh ſtill exiſts; as well as, among ſeveral tribes of Siberia, an idiom which has great affinity with the Hungarian, ſtill prevails.

CHAP. III.

Arſenal of Stockholm.—*Clothes and hat worn by* Charles XII. *when he was killed at the ſiege of* Frederickſhall.—*Inquiry into the circumſtances and occaſion of his death.*

THE arſenal of Stockholm contains an immenſe number of ſtandards and trophies, taken chiefly from the Imperialiſts, Poles, Ruſſians, and Danes. Many of theſe ſtandards were ſupplied by Guſtavus Adolphus, Baner, Torſtenſon, and Wrangel, by Charles Guſtavus, but principally by Charles XII. whoſe military atchievements proved the ruin of his country: nor could I avoid remarking, that while this collection proudly diſplayed the trophies of Narva, the Ruſſians poſſeſs Narva itſelf, with all Livonia, and other provinces diſmembered from Sweden.

Among other curioſities, I obſerved the ſkin of the horſe ſtuffed, which carried Guſtavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, where he received his death; a boat made by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, and taken by a Swediſh veſſel as it was conveying by ſea

ſea to Peterſburgh; and, what particularly attracted my notice, the clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was ſhot in the trenches before Frederickſhall. As many various reports have been ſpread relative to the death of that monarch, and as proofs that he was aſſaſſinated have been attempted to be drawn from the ſtate of thoſe clothes, and particularly of his hat, I examined them with peculiar attention.

The coat is a plain blue uniform, with large braſs buttons, like that of a common ſoldier; his boots are thick and large; his gloves are of buff leather, ſtiff-topped, and reaching almoſt to the elbow: the right-hand glove is conſiderably ſtained with blood, the left only ſprinkled with a few drops; part of a buff belt, which he wore round his waiſt, is alſo bloody *. I mention theſe circumſtances,

* This circumſtance has given riſe to an argument in favour of his being aſſaſſinated: for, ſay the advocates on this ſide of the queſtion, if, upon receiving the ſhot, he inſtantly touched the wound, and then graſped his ſword, it ſeems to imply that he muſt have ſeen the perſon who diſcharged the piece at him, and put himſelf into an attitude of defence: and it is certain, from the account of Pilgren, who ſaw the body, that he had abſolutely drawn the ſword half out of the ſcabbard, and that the hilt was ſo tightly graſped

ſtances, becauſe it renders probable what has been aſſerted, that upon receiving the ſhot he inſtantly applied his right-hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his ſword. The hat bears the appearance of having been ſlightly grazed by the ball, in that part which immediately covered his temple. I was informed, by a perſon who has had frequent opportunities of obſerving it, that the original mark was at firſt very indiſtinct, but has been ſo handled and rent by thoſe who have continually examined it, as to have been conſiderably enlarged. As the ſhot, therefore, did not pierce through, but only grazed the hat, the ſize of the ball, upon which ſo much has been made to depend, cannot be aſcertained from this circumſtance. It follows therefore from this ſimple deſcription, which I noted down upon the ſpot, that, from any appearances either in the clothes or hat, the ſlighteſt inference cannot be deduced in re-

graſped by the right hand as not to be removed without difficulty. But ſurely, if the king really ſaw the perſon who diſcharged the piece, and meant to defend himſelf, he would firſt have graſped the ſword before he had received the ſhot; and if he firſt touched the wound, and then graſped the hilt of the ſword, it was a mere inſtantaneous impulſe, and muſt have been ſo ſudden as to have no reference to an attempt of defending himſelf.

gard

gard to the ſo much agitated queſtion, Whether Charles XII. fell by a ball from the Daniſh batteries, or by the hand of an aſſaſſin. I ſhall ſubjoin to this account an inquiry into the particulars of his death; in the courſe of which ſome new lights may, perhaps, be thrown upon this curious ſubject; and ſome anecdotes introduced, probably unknown to the Engliſh reader.

On the 30th of November 1718, Charles XII. viſited his trenches at the ſiege of Frederickſhall in Norway; advanced as far as a baſtion, which he mounted; and, leaning his arm upon the parapet, ſeemed to examine the progreſs of the works. The Daniſh batteries were playing upon the trenches, and continued a conſtant fire with great and ſmall ſhot, to which the king expoſed himſelf, as uſual, without the leaſt caution; in that attitude he received a ball in his temple, fell upon the parapet, and inſtantly expired. There were with him two French officers; Maigret, the engineer, who conducted the ſiege; and Siquier, his aid-de-camp. Behind, at ſome diſtance, were, amongſt others, count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches; count Poſſe, captain of the guards; and Culbert, an aid-

de-camp. According to Voltaire *, the two Frenchmen, ſeeing the king fall, and hearing him utter at the ſame time a deep ſigh, approached and found him dead. Motraye † relates, that Maigret had ineffectually endeavoured to diſſuade his majeſty from remaining in ſo dangerous a place; and that, having conſulted with Schwerin and Culbert, he returned to draw him away by ſtratagem; finding him leaning upon the parapet, he ſuppoſed him to be aſleep; but perceiving that he continued motionleſs, an alarm was given to the officers, who came with a light, and diſcerned that he was dead. Nordberg's account correſponds in general with that given by Motraye. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Siquier, who was devoted to the prince of Heſſe, took off the king's hat, covered the head with his own wig and hat; and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it to be tranſported to his quarters as that of an officer who was juſt killed. Siquier

* Voltaire was probably informed of theſe circumſtances from Siquier himſelf. See Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 341.

† Voyages de Motraye, Vol. II. p. 396. Nordberg's Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 358.

himſelf

himſelf flew without delay to the prince of Heſſe, "who was quartered at Torpum, about "the diſtance of three quarters * of a mile. "The prince was at ſupper," writes a page who was preſent †, "with ſome generals and "officers. Siquier, without being announced, "approached and whiſpered the prince; the "latter did the ſame to the perſon who ſat "next to him; and the whiſper being cir-"culated round the company in the ſame "manner, the prince retired from table, and "gave immediate orders for poſt-horſes." "I "followed," adds the ſame perſon, "the of-"ficers to the place where the king was "killed. The prince ordered the generals and "officers, who were preſent, to place the "body in a litter prepared to convey it to the "head quarters. One-and-twenty ſoldiers "ſtanding around with wax tapers in their "hands, we obſerved, that the king, in the "agonies of death, had drawn his ſword half "out of the ſcabbard; and that the hilt was "ſo tightly graſped by the right-hand, as not "to be diſengaged without difficulty. The

* Probably of a Swediſh mile, which is equal to about 6½ Engliſh miles.

† This account is taken from the narrative of Pilgren, a page to the prince of Heſſe, who was that day in waiting. See Von Karls XII. Tode & in Schloetzer's Briefewechſel, Vol. I. p. 230.

" body was no ſooner removed than the prince " held a council with the officers, when it " was determined to raiſe the ſiege, and to " diſpatch field-marſhal Ducker to Sandſborg, " in order to prevent any one from paſſing to " the enemy, and ſpreading the report of the " king's death: but this precaution was too " late, as that very night a Swediſh lieutenant, " accompanied by a drummer, went over the " Glomma to the enemy, and acquainted them " with the king's death."

From theſe circumſtances we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the king was aſſaſſinated, but rather that he received his wound from one of the Daniſh batteries. Let us then examine the reaſons which have induced many perſons to aſſert that he was killed by treachery; and that Frederic prince of Heſſe, who had eſpouſed his youngeſt ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora and was ſoon afterwards raiſed to the throne, was not wholly unſuſpected of being concerned in his death,

The duke of Holſtein, ſon of Hedwige eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was the undoubted heir to the crown; and would, according to the opinion of his miniſter Baſſevitz, have ſucceeded, if he had immediately ſhown himſelf to the troops.

" The duke was in the camp. Charles

" had brought him to the army in that ſe-
" vere campaign in order to form him to war.
" Upon the firſt news of the king's death,
" the young prince retired to his tent over-
" whelmed with affliction. The generals who
" were attached to him, in vain demanded
" admittance. Duker conjured his favourite
" Roepſtorf, that he would perſuade him to
" appear before the troops, and offered to pro-
" claim him upon the ſpot. Roepſtorf gained
" admittance to his maſter, but ſoon returned
" with an anſwer, that he was too much
" affected to hold converſation with any one.
' If he will not act,' ſays Duker, ' affairs
' muſt go as they can.' " This delay was
" the ſafety of the Swediſh liberty. For how
" would the nation have dared to propoſe the
" ſuppreſſion of abſolute authority, in op-
" poſition to a king who had been proclaimed
" by the army, and was already in poſſeſſion
" of all the prerogatives enjoyed by his pre-
" deceſſor * ?" Another † account informs us, " that ſeveral of the Swediſh generals ten-
" dered the crown to the duke, upon the
" condition of renouncing abſolute power;
" but that he refuſed to be bound by any
" reſtrictions."

* Memoires de Baſſevitz in Buſching, H. M. IX. p. 321.
† Schloetzer's Briefewechſel, Vol. I. p. 151.

The conduct of the prince of Heſſe was far more politic. Having diſpoſed of the king's body, he iſſued immediate orders to arreſt baron Gortz *, as if already in poſſeſſion

* The arreſt of Baron Gortz was attended with many curious circumſtances, which are related by Pilgren, who accompanied the officers that arreſted him; but the account is too long to be inſerted in this work. See Gortzen's Gefangenemmung in Schloetzer, Vol. I. p. 231 to 243.

The real cauſe of the Baron's impriſonment and execution was his attachment to the duke of Holſtein, which neither Frederic nor Ulrica Eleonora could forgive; to their revenge, and to the cabals of a party, he fell a ſacrifice. Poſterity, however, has done juſtice to the integrity of this great, but turbulent ſtateſman; and particularly the preſent king of Sweden has paid a tribute of praiſe to his memory, in the following letter to his daughter Madame D'Eyben. See Schloetzer Theil. XI. p. 109.

" Madame la Baronne D'Eyben. La memoire de l'il-
" luſtre et malheureux Baron de Gortz eſt trop reſpectée
" de moi, pour que je n'aye été trés ſenſiblement touché
" d'apprendre, qu'il exiſtoit encore un de ces enfans, que
" la tirannie et l'injuſtice atroce de la princeſs Ulrique
" Eleonore, et de ceux qui preſidérent à la diéte de 1719,
" rendirent orphelins. Son ſang innocent a trop long-
" temps crié vengeance. La Suede a pendant 50 ans de
" malheurs, de devaſtations et de troubles paié cherement
" le tribut, que la colére divine a exigé pour le crime,
" commis contre un grand homme innocent, pour que je
" ſouhaite ardemment, en qualité de *premier citoyen de ma*
" *patrie*, reparer au nom de cette même patrie, l'injuſtice

" que

ſion of ſovereign authority; and diſpatched Siquier to his conſort Ulrica Eleonora at Stockholm. That princeſs was no ſooner informed of her brother's death, than ſhe ſummoned the ſenate; and agreeing to renounce all right to the crown by hereditary ſucceſſion, and to ſubſcribe to the limitation of regal power, ſhe was ſoon afterwards elected queen, but reſigned, in 1721, the crown to her huſband.

The account of the king's death, publiſhed by order of the court ſoon after the event, enters into no details, but attributes it to a ball ſhot from a falconet *. Motraye affirms †, that this relation was probably true, becauſe the wound was large enough to admit four

" que nos ancétres ont commis. A ce titre, que je re-
" garde comme le plus beau de tous ceux, que la Pro-
" vidence a bien voulu aſſembler ſur ma tête, s'ajoute en-
" core celui de ma maiſon, pour laquelle il a été un ſa-
" crifice. Vous devés donc bien juger, Madame, combien
" je ſuis porté de vous faire rendre la juſtice, que vous re-
" clamés en qualité d'heritiére et de fille de feu Baron de
" Gortz, &c. &c. ce 28 d. Ottrobre, 1773.

* A ball of a falconet uſually weighs one pound and ½ at leaſt.

† Large de quatre doigts. Motraye.—Un trou dans lequel ou pouvoit enfoncer trois doigts. Voltaire.—Un balle l'avoit atteint à la temple droite avec tante de violence, qu'elle étoit reſſortie au deſſus de la temple gauche. Nordberg.

fingers; and Voltaire, who received his information from Siquier, aſſerts, that it was made by a ball of half a pound weight, and large enough to contain three fingers; and they both agree, that from the violence of the ſhot the left eye was forced in, and the right diſlodged from its ſocket. In contradiction, however, to theſe authorities, two perſons who had ſeen the body, poſitively affirm, that the wound was too ſmall to have been occaſioned by a ſhot from a falconet or half falconet.

Count Liewen, in a converſation with Mr. Wraxhall, thus expreſſed himſelf upon the ſubject:

"There are now very few men alive who can ſpeak "with ſo much certainty as myſelf. I was in the camp "before Frederickſhall, and had the honour to ſerve the "king in quality of page on that night when he was "killed. I have no doubt that he was aſſaſſinated. The "night was extremely dark, and it was almoſt an im- "poſſibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head "at the diſtance, and on the ſpot where he ſtood. I ſaw "the king's body, and am certain the wound in his temple "was made by a piſtol bullet. Who gave it, is unknown: "Siker was ſuſpected, becauſe he was not with his ma- "jeſty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment "after. Thoſe," added he, "who are uſed to military "affairs, know the report and noiſe which a cannon-ball "makes; but the report of the ſhot which deſtroyed the "king was that of a piece cloſe at hand, and totally dif-

"ferent.

" ferent. I do not believe the prince of Heſſe was con-
" cerned, or privy to it in any degree; but the belief that
" he was put to death by a private hand was general in the
" army at that time *."

The next evidence is captain Carlberg, who aſſiſted in conveying the body from the trenches: this officer died at Gotheborg about a month before I arrived at that town; and in repeated converſations with ſeveral Engliſh merchants, from whom I received the anecdote, conſtantly aſſerted that the wound was given by a muſket or piſtol. In anſwer to theſe aſſertions, may it not be aſked, Whether count Liewen and captain Carlberg had any opportunity of examining the wound with that attention neceſſary to form a deciſive opinion? and if they did, whether the ſize of gun-ſhot wounds does not exceedingly vary according to the velocity of the ball, and the place which it ſtrikes?

But ſhould we even allow, that the piece from which the king received his death was not larger than a muſket; the next circumſtance for inquiry is, Whether a muſket-ſhot could have reached him from the ramparts of Frederickſhall, or from any of the adjoining batteries? That this is probable, will appear

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 141.

from conſulting the plan of Frederickſhall in Motraye, who had viſited the place; for the parapet on which the king was leaning is only 180 yards from the ramparts, and about 800 from the battery, from which he conjectures that he was killed. As a random muſket-bullet will often take effect at 800, or even 1000 yards, the king might have been ſtruck in this manner, and ſtill more probably by ſmall or grape-ſhot diſcharged from a cannon.

Many perſons have been ſuſpected of being concerned in the ſuppoſed aſſaſſination: Siquier principally, becauſe he was near Charles at the time of his death, covered the body from inſpection, immediately carried the news to the prince of Heſſe, and, by haſtening to Stockholm, ſecured the crown to the princeſs Ulrica Eleonora. His conduct in theſe inſtances, however, affords no poſitive evidence either againſt himſelf or Frederic; for both would have acted in the ſame manner from common policy, whether the Swediſh monarch was killed by accident, or by their treachery. Unfortunately, however, Siquier himſelf, in 1722, being at Stockholm, in a delirium, occaſioned by a fever, opened the window of his apartment, and exclaimed, that he

he had murdered Charles XII.; but no one gave any credit to the confeſſion of a perſon who was then in a ſtate of inſanity. Suſpicions alſo fell upon Maigret the engineer, merely becauſe he was preſent in the trenches; and alſo upon General Renſkioeld, who is ſaid to have employed the murderer: but this report had no foundation, and ſeems to have chiefly ariſen from his activity in ſupporting the party of the ſenate for limiting the ſovereign authority, and in placing Ulrica Eleonora upon the throne.

It is evident from a paſſage in Bruce's Memoirs *, that a belief of the king's aſſaſſination was generally received.

" As I was dining," he ſays, " at an ordinary one day, " with ſeveral of my acquaintance, there happened to be " at the table a Swediſh colonel, and a lieutenant-colonel, " who was born dumb, but notwithſtanding that misfor- " tune, had been a great favourite with the late king of " Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid- " de camp came in, and, addreſſing himſelf to the Swediſh " colonel, ordered him, in the emperor's name, to leave " Riga immediately, otherwiſe he would be proceeded " againſt as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting " up from the table, quitted the room pale and trembling. " On our enquiring into the reaſon of this ſudden order to " the colonel, we were informed that he was ſuſpected of

* P. 366.

" having

" having ſhot the late king of Sweden in the trenches before " Frederickſhall. It ſeems that ſome of the company " had, by ſigns, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel under- " ſtand the affair, on which he ran after him with his " ſword drawn, and, but for the interpoſition of the aid- " de-camp and ſome others with him, he would certainly " have killed the colonel, who was ſafely conducted over the " river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and " was followed by his ſervants and baggage. It was obſerv- " ed, that while he reſided in Riga, large remittances had " come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally " ſuſpected that he had been highly bribed to commit the " regicide. The colonel made haſte to get into Poland, " intending to paſs through that kingdom into Turkey, " where he was well acquainted, having attended the king " of Sweden all the time that prince reſided in Bender; but " as he was no more heard of, it was generally thought he " had been murdered in Poland."

Bruce does not mention the name of this colonel; but his account ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to corroborate the opinion of many perſons in Sweden; that if the king was treacherouſly put to death, it is highly probable that the murder was committed by a Swede. A member of the diet, which aſſembled ſoon after the revolution, uſed theſe myſterious expreſſions: " The liberty which " has been ſo much extolled, always carried " to exceſs, and to which we have ſo long " been enſlaved, perhaps at its commencement

" did

" did not occaſion any real bleſſings. It is " a conjecture which excites horror, an *op-* " *probrium* from which I wiſh we could en- " tirely exculpate ourſelves, namely, that the " life of our Northern hero Charles XII. " —But I tremble: he was upon the point " of recovering the loſſes of the ſtate. Poſ- " terity will dare to expatiate upon this much- " to-be-lamented event." It appears from theſe words, as if the ſpeaker conceived that the partizans for a limited monarchy had occaſioned the death of Charles, in order to eſtabliſh a new form of government; and he alludes to the following anecdote.

A Swediſh officer, whoſe name is Cronſtedt, is ſaid to have owned, upon his death-bed, to a clergyman called Tolſtadius, that he was concerned in the murder of Charles XII.; and the confeſſor afterwards drew up an account of this declaration, which was delivered to the king and ſenate, and is now preſerved in the archives. I could not learn the particulars of this account; but was informed in general, that Cronſtedt * affirmed he

* It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Cronſtedt is ſaid to have been out of his ſenſes before he died; and if ſo, his confeſſion deſerves no more credit than that.

he only loaded the piece; and that Stiernros, who died lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, was the perſon who fired it, ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance behind the king; and it is likewiſe aſſerted, that Stiernros, in his laſt illneſs, acknowledged his guilt. The queen-dowager of Sweden, whoſe curioſity was excited by all theſe reports, deſcended a few years ago into the vault which contains the body of Charles. Upon examining the wounds, one whereof was in the back of his head, and the other in the left temple, ſhe found that the latter was the greater; whence it was concluded, that the ball went in behind and came out before, from the well-known effect of gun-ſhot wounds, whoſe entering orifice is always the ſmalleſt. I may likewiſe venture to add, that her majeſty, after weighing all the circumſtances on both ſides, was of opinion that the king was aſſaſſinated.

that of Siquier. Another madman likewiſe acknowledged himſelf to be the king's aſſaſſin. Fabricius, who is mentioned as a great favourite of Charles XII. died in England in a delirium; and he aſſured Miller, the celebrated botaniſt, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that he aſſaſſinated the Swediſh monarch. I received this anecdote from a gentleman who had it from Mr. Miller himſelf.

It

It appeared probable to ſome perſons, from ſeveral particulars in the confeſſion of Cronſtedt, that he had been employed by Frederic I. and it is ſtill believed by many at Stockholm, but without ſufficient proofs; that Frederic, upon the approach of death, raved about Charles XII. and expreſſed great remorſe and compunction on his account.

In mentioning theſe anecdotes, I beg leave to requeſt that they may be conſidered merely as reports, upon which other perſons, who ſhall have an opportunity of obtaining more preciſe information, may build their inquiries; as my intention was to throw together all the intelligence I could collect concerning the death of Charles XII.; in order to enable the reader to draw the concluſion which ſhall ſeem the moſt probable.

Upon reviewing the principal circumſtances in this myſterious affair; if we are convinced that the king's wound was that of a muſket or piſtol ball, and yet that he was not in a ſituation to be reached by ſuch a ſhot from the enemy's batteries; and that though the belief of his being unfairly put to death was general in the army, yet no enquiry was made; if we imagine the evidence of Liewen and Carlberg are to be abſolutely relied upon, and particularly

particularly the aſſertion of the former, that the report of the piece which deſtroyed the king was that of a piſtol; if we can ſuppoſe the confeſſion of Cronſtedt and Stiernros to be genuine; the remorſe of Frederic to be ſincere and well atteſted; if we think the opinion of the queen-dowager ſufficient to convince our judgment; we muſt neceſſarily conclude that Charles XII. was aſſaſſinated. On the contrary, if we believe that the wound was ſo large, that it muſt have been occaſioned by a ball from a falconet, or half falconet; or if not, that the king was liable to be reached by a muſket-ball; if we ſee no glaring contradictions between the account publiſhed by the court, and the relations made by thoſe who were in the trenches at the time when he fell; or if we think that the latter perſons may have been miſtaken in ſome material circumſtances; if we can reconcile the conduct of Frederic as being merely dictated by policy, and ſuch as would have been adopted by any perſon in the ſame ſituation, though he were not acceſſary to the murder: if to theſe conſiderations we add the natural propenſity of mankind to attribute the death of extraordinary perſonages to extraordinary cauſes; that thoſe who have once framed an hypotheſis

hypotheſis will imperceptibly warp all events in its ſupport; and that until poſitive proofs, not merely drawn from flying reports and uncertain anecdotes, are eſtabliſhed; we ought undoubtedly to lean to the ſide of candour and humanity; we ought not to credit ſurmiſes ſo injurious to characters otherwiſe without reproach; and we are bound to conclude that Charles XII. fell by the hand of the enemy, and not by treachery. And this opinion was likewiſe ſupported by the high authority of count Poniatowſki *, the confidential friend of Charles XII.

* As I had the honour of being informed by the preſent king of Poland.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Changes in the form of the Swediſh *government.—Inquiry into the nature of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed at the Revolution of* 1772.*—The king a limited, and not an abſolute monarch.—Diet compoſed of the king and ſtates.—I. Houſe of nobles.—II. Of the clergy.—III. Of citizens.—IV. Of peaſants.—Mode of enacting laws.*

THE form of the Swediſh government has frequently varied. Before the acceſſion of the houſe of Vaſa in the perſon of Guſtavus I. it was a monarchy wholly elective; and laboured under all the evils which are inſeparable from that moſt defective ſpecies of ſovereignty. By the union of Calmar, which took place in 1397, it was ſtipulated; that the ſame monarch was to rule over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to be choſen by the deputies from the ſtates of thoſe three kingdoms aſſembled at Calmar. Throughout the whole period in which theſe regulations ſubſiſted, Sweden was a mere tributary kingdom to the ſovereigns of Denmark;

mark; or, in its temporary exertions to ſhake off that yoke, drew on itſelf all the horrors of foreign invaſion and inteſtine diſcord.

From this ſtate of alternate oppreſſion and anarchy it was reſcued by Guſtavus Vaſa, on whom the gratitude of the Swedes conferred the dominion of that country which he had delivered: they even renounced in his favour the right of electing their kings; and declared the crown hereditary in his male iſſue. The form of government eſtabliſhed at his acceſſion, though in appearance of a mixed nature, and though it lodged the ſupremacy in the aſſembly of the ſtates, yet entruſted very extenſive prerogatives to the king. Theſe powers, tranſmitted to his immediate poſterity with little diminution, were augmented under Guſtavus Adolphus; and at the ſame time the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the female line. But, during the minority of his daughter Chriſtina, the government underwent an alteration unfavourable to regal authority: the privileges of the ſenate, or council of ſtate, being enlarged, gave the aſcendancy to the ariſtocratical party, or order of nobles; and this power was, by continual encroachments, carried to ſuch an exorbitant height, as juſtly to excite the fears and indignation of

the three other orders of the clergy, citizens, and peaſants. At length Charles XI. artfully availing himſelf of this diſſatisfaction, obtained from the ſtates a formal ceſſion of abſolute ſovereignty, which he quietly devolved upon his ſon Charles XII. Upon the deceaſe of the latter, his nephew, Charles Frederic duke of Holſtein, ſon of his eldeſt ſiſter Hedwige, ought, by the law of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by Charles XI. to have aſcended the throne. But the Swedes, in breach of that regulation, excluded the duke of Holſtein, and conferred the crown upon Ulrica Eleonora, the youngeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. That princeſs, poſſeſſing no title but what was derived from the appointment of the nation, purchaſed her election by a ſurrender of abſolute authority, and by ratifying all the limitations of prerogative which the ſtates impoſed; and her huſband Frederic I. in whoſe favour ſhe reſigned the crown, ſecured their concurrence by ſimilar ſtipulations.

The new form of government eſtabliſhed at this juncture, conſiſted of fifty-one articles, all tending to abridge the powers of the crown; and rendered the Swediſh ſovereign the moſt limited monarch in Europe. It was ſettled, that the ſupreme legiſlative authority ſhould

reſide

reſide abſolutely and ſolely in the ſtates of the realm aſſembled in diet; which, whether convened by the king or not, muſt regularly aſſemble every three years, and could only be diſſolved by their own conſent. During the receſs of the diet, the executive power reſided in the king and ſenate; but as the king was bound in all affairs to abide by the opinion of the majority; and as he poſſeſſed only two votes, and the caſting voice in caſe of equal ſuffrages; he was almoſt entirely ſubordinate to that body, and could be conſidered in no other light than its preſident *. At the ſame time

* Mr. Sheridan, in his Hiſtory of the late Revolution, &c. has thus delineated the exorbitant authority veſted in the ſtates, p. 145: "While the ſtates were aſſembled, "they were, in fact, poſſeſſed of the whole ſupreme power. "The authority of the king and ſenate was then ſuſpended, "&c.—In ſhort, the ſtates were veſted with the ſame "powers, independent of the king and ſenate, that in Eng- "land the two houſes of parliament poſſeſs in conjunction "with the king.

"The legiſlative power they reſerved wholly to them- "ſelves. The king and ſenate, having no ſhare whatever "in it, did not even poſſeſs a negative on thoſe reſolutions "of the diet, which directly attacked the regal and ſe- "natorial rights.—The following powers were likewiſe "veſted in the ſtates alone: Thoſe of declaring war, or "making peace; that of altering the ſtandard of the "coin, &c.

time the ſenate itſelf ultimately depended upon the ſtates; as its members, though nominally appointed for life, yet were in a great meaſure choſen by the ſtates *; were amenable before that aſſembly; and liable to be removed from their office, in caſe of real or pretended malverſation. Thus the ſupreme authority reſided in a tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, tradeſmen, and peaſants, were admitted; moſt of whom were of courſe

"The executive power, during the ſitting of the diet, "may be ſaid to have been, in a great meaſure, lodged in "a certain number of perſons ſelected from the three orders "of the nobles, clergy, and burghers, who conſtituted "what was denominated the ſecret committee, &c. With "regard to the judicial power, the ſtates aſſumed to themſelves a right of exerciſing that alſo, whenever they "thought proper, by taking at pleaſure cauſes out of the "ordinary courts of juſtice, to try them before a temporary "tribunal erected by themſelves, and compoſed of their "own members. Nothing could be more formidable "than the power of this court, or more ſubverſive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itſelf at once the "legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers; and it was to "decide principally in caſes of treaſon. What rendered "this extraordinary juriſdiction moſt prepoſterous was, "its being generally at the ſame time both judge and "party."

* All vacancies in the ſenate were filled by the king from three candidates nominated by the ſtates.

ſubject

ſubject to all the corruption and influence to which needy and ignorant repreſentatives are neceſſarily expoſed. Although all ſtatutes were ſigned by the king, and the ordinances of the ſenate iſſued in his name; yet in neither caſe did he poſſeſs a negative: and in order to obviate the poſſibility of his attempting to exerciſe that power, it was enacted, in the diet of 1756, that "in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the ſign "manual, his majeſty's name might be affixed by a ſtamp, whenever he ſhould have "declined his ſignature at the firſt or ſecond "requeſt of the ſenate." In conſequence of this reſolution, the royal ſignature was actually engraved; and applied to the ordinary diſpatches of government, under the direction of the ſenate *. In a word, the king enjoyed little more than the mere name of royalty. He was only the oſtenſible inſtrument in the hands of one of the two great parties, who at that time divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the ſuperior influence in the diet.

We cannot but remark upon this ſubject, that the Swedes, who, during the reigns of

* Sheridan, p. 188. Cantzler, p. 71.

Charles XI. and XII. had ſo reluctantly ſubmitted to the deſpotiſm of their ſovereigns, knew not how to uſe their liberty: they intemperately ran into the contrary extreme; and, in order to diſable the king from recovering arbitrary power, they even deſpoiled him of thoſe juſt and neceſſary prerogatives, which in a monarchical conſtitution can alone form a barrier againſt ariſtocratical uſurpation and popular factions; as if they were ignorant of any medium between abſolute dominion and anarchy, or between licentiouſneſs and ſervitude.

The groſs defects in this new form of government occaſioned conſtant ſtruggles between the kings of Sweden and their ſubjects, on one ſide to increaſe, on the other to depreſs, the royal prerogative; until his preſent majeſty effected the revolution of 1772. It is needleſs to enter into any detail of this extraordinary event, as Mr. Sheridan, who at the period in queſtion was ſecretary to the Britiſh envoy at Stockholm, has given to the world a moſt ample and accurate detail of the whole tranſaction *. Perſons of the moſt op-

* A Hiſtory of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c. by Charles Francis Sheridan, Eſq.

poſite

poſite parties in Sweden unanimouſly concur in commending the fidelity of Mr. Sheridan's hiſtory, and in preferring it to the numerous narratives of that important event; and the king has frequently acknowledged its general authenticity. The ingenious author has developed with the utmoſt preciſion and truth the dreadful abuſes occaſioned by the ſyſtem of government eſtabliſhed in 1720; and has traced, with a maſterly hand, the judicious and ſpirited conduct of his preſent majeſty. But in this account of the new government, admirable as it is, he has unfortunately advanced a capital miſtake; which, as it has fallen from a perſon of ſuch reſpectable authority, and ſeems generally prevalent in all foreign countries, deſerves a particular diſcuſſion. I allude to his aſſertion, that the king of Sweden is "no leſs abſolute at Stockholm "than the French monarch at Verſailles, and "the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople *;" whereas his Swediſh majeſty, though now poſſeſſed of very great prerogatives, is yet in many important inſtances a limited monarch, as will be aſcertained by a review of the preſent conſtitution.

The whole executive power is virtually

* P. 301.

veſted in the king: for though it is ſaid to be entruſted to him conjointly with the ſenate; yet as his majeſty appoints and removes all the members of that council, and in the adminiſtration of affairs aſks only their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is abſolute maſter of the ſenate *. The king has the command of the army and navy, and fills up all commiſſions; he likewiſe nominates to all civil offices †. He has the ſole power of convening and diſſolving the ſtates, and is not obliged to aſſemble them at any ſtated period ‡; he has rendered many of the taxes

* Article 4th. In ſome few inſtances, however, namely, in the negociations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the ſenators, in caſe they are unanimous; but as it is ſcarcely poſſible that ſeventeen ſenators, appointed and removeable by his majeſty, ſhould be unanimous in their oppoſition to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the command of the ſenate. Art. 6th.

In the high courts of juſtice, indeed, conſiſting of ſeven ſenators, to which a final appeal lies from all the inferior courts, the king has only two voices, and a caſting vote if the opinions are equal. But yet, in this inſtance, as he nominates and removes at his pleaſure their judges, he muſt have the entire diſpoſal of their ſuffrages. Art. 8th. See the articles of the new form of government in the Appendix to this volume.

† Art. 6; alſo 22. 25. and 31.

‡ Art. 38.

perpetual,

perpetual, enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the diſpoſal of the public money.

Such are the prerogatives which his Swediſh majeſty has annexed to his crown: but however enormous they may appear, eſpecially when compared with the ſlender degree of authority poſſeſſed by the throne before that period; yet they by no means, I apprehend, amount to deſpotiſm. The two great features, which eſſentially diſtinguiſh an arbitrary from a limited monarch, are the uncontrouled right of enacting and repealing laws, and the impoſition of taxes without conſent of the ſubject; neither of which are exerciſed by the king of Sweden. With reſpect to the former, the legiſlative authority reſides jointly in him and in the ſtates *; and it is expreſsly decreed, in the 40th article, "that the king "ſhall have no power to make new laws, "without the knowledge and aſſent of the "ſtates; nor abrogate an old one received "formerly †." Concerning the impoſition of

* Mr. Sheridan is wrong, in ſaying that the ſtates were to deliberate upon nothing but what the king thought proper to lay before them; they having a right, as well to propoſe laws, as to negative thoſe propoſed by the king. See Art. 42.

† Art. 48.

taxes,

taxes, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that the king ſhall not levy any money without the conſent of the ſtates, excepting in the caſe of actual invaſion *; and at the concluſion of the war he ſhall be obliged to ſummon them, and the new taxes ſhall be aboliſhed. In addition alſo to theſe two important reſtrictions, he cannot declare war, nor alter the coin, without their concurrence; and, if called upon by them when convened, is obliged to account for the expenditure of the public money †.

Though the king is ſubject to theſe material limitations; yet, as his ordinary revenue is perpetual, and the meeting of the ſtates depends ſolely upon his pleaſure, it may be

* Mr. Sheridan, upon this article, ſays, "By a third, "though his majeſty did not openly claim a power of impoſing taxes on all occaſions, yet ſuch as already ſubſiſted "were to be perpetual; and in caſe of invaſion, or *preſſing* "*neceſſity*, the king might impoſe ſome taxes, *till* the ſtates "could be aſſembled. But his majeſty was to be the judge "of this neceſſity; and we have ſeen that the meeting of "the ſtates depended wholly on his will and pleaſure." P. 307.

Now there are no ſuch words as *preſſing neceſſity* in the new articles of government, but the exerciſe of this power is ſtrictly confined to the caſe of actual invaſion: the words are, "Yet that unhappy caſe excepted, when the kingdom "ſhould be attacked by an army."

† Articles 44. 48. 50.

urged that he may govern without controul, ſo long as he requires no additional ſubſidies. But ſurely this mode of ruling does not amount to abſolute authority. For, as he cannot enact laws, declare war, or levy taxes, without the conſent of the diet; emergencies muſt occur which may render it neceſſary to convene that aſſembly; when the latter may redreſs grievances, or repair any breaches in the conſtitution.

In fact, his preſent majeſty, though neither preſſed by foreign war, nor by any material exigency, did, within ſix years from the time of his obtaining an exemption from the neceſſity of convening the ſtates, conceive it expedient to ſummon them; and experienced that oppoſition which characterizes the repreſentatives of a free people. In the houſe of nobles, for inſtance, a memorial was laid upon the table, wherein it was ſaid, that there were no fixed laws; that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 had been for ſome time obſerved; but that lately many of the king's friends had appealed to that of 1616, as the proper model by which the adminiſtration was to regulate its proceedings. Which conſtitution was to be conſidered as at preſent ſubſiſting?—Other propoſitions very offenſive

to

to the royal ear were diſcuſſed in this memorial, and it was intended to have been formally recited at the next meeting; but, to prevent this meaſure, the king ſummoned the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolved them. His majeſty, in his ſpeech delivered on that occaſion, declared himſelf chagrined at the complaints unjuſtly levelled againſt his conduct. He added that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 ſhould always be regarded by him as the true conſtitution; that he never wiſhed to deviate from it in the ſlighteſt degree; and that, as many perſons had endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding between him and the ſtates, he had on that account adopted the reſolution of diſſolving them: a ſtyle of harangue that would not have been adopted by an abſolute king.

In a word, whether the preſent form of government be likely to laſt, or whether it may not be as ſuddenly overturned as it was introduced by a new revolution; whether it may not, in proceſs of time, degenerate into an arbitrary monarchy, or relapſe into its priſtine anarchy; are not here the objects of inquiry: the queſtion relates ſolely to the nature of the conſtitution as it ſubſiſts at preſent; which the more accurately we examine, the

the leſs ſcrupulouſly ſhall we decide, that the king of Sweden is a limited, and not a deſpotic ſovereign.

The diet, in which reſides the ſupreme legiſlative authority, is compoſed of the king, whoſe prerogatives have been already related; and the ſtates, which are convened at the ſole will of the crown, and conſiſt of the four houſes, I. Of Nobles; II. Of the Clergy; III. Of Citizens; and, IV. Of Peaſants.

I. The firſt Houſe is that of the Nobles.

They are divided into counts, barons, and untitled nobility. A family once ennobled continues ſo from generation to generation, as well in the direct line as in its various collateral branches *: all poſſeſs the ſame general

* The reader will excuſe the length of the following quotation, as well in conſideration of the juſtneſs of the remarks, and its application to the ſubject in the text, as becauſe it is almoſt the only place where the difference between the Engliſh and foreign nobility is preciſely and clearly aſcertained.

"England is the only country in Europe where the "diſtinction, for inſtance, of noble and not noble, is carried "no farther than the nature of the government requires it "ſhould; becauſe there the nobility do not, as ſuch, form "a diſtinct claſs from the reſt of the nation. As it is only "the head of each noble family, who is there entitled to the "honours and privileges of the peerage, it is not the man "who can count a long train of titled anceſtors, but the "hereditary

neral privileges; which conſiſt principally in the capacity of being ſenators, chamberlains, or of holding other civil emloyments about the king's perſon and court, and in an exemption from the poll-tax. The power of creating new nobility is veſted in the king; but the number is limited. In a diet held under Adolphus Frederic, it was enacted, that no additional ones ſhould be appointed until

" hereditary legiſlator, who is himſelf noble. The younger " branches of theſe families, as they have no ſhare in the " legiſlature, are but little, if (by courteſy) at all diſtinguiſhed " from their fellow-ſubjects; with whom they and their " deſcendants aſſimilate, and are ſoon, if I may ſo expreſs " myſelf, melted down into the general maſs of the people. " Hence theſe become a ſort of link between the nobility " and the commoners; a link that, connecting their in- " tereſts, prevents all diviſion between theſe two orders in " their capacity of members of the ſame ſociety, and which " forms of that ſociety a continued chain, no part of which " can be touched without affecting, by an almoſt electrical " communication, all the reſt. In other countries, where " thoſe who have been once ennobled tranſmit the honours " and privileges of nobility to all their poſterity alike, there " is no link to connect the nobles to the reſt of the nation; " on the contrary, a line is drawn between them to per- " petuity; a line which cuts, as it were, the chain of ſo- " ciety in two, the ſevered ends of which appear rather to " repel than attract each other. There, conſequently, that " conjunction of views and intereſts cannot take place in " the nation at large, to which I have ſaid a free conſtitu- " tion muſt, in a great degree, owe its ſafety." Sheridan, p. 143.

the

the families of this order were reduced to 1200; and at the revolution of 1772 his preſent majeſty obtained the right of adding 150. The head of each noble family, in the direct line, is by birth a member of this houſe; and repreſents, in his perſon, all the younger part of that line, as well as the collateral branches. If he happens to be a ſenator, he is incapacitated by his office from a place in the diet; but enjoys the power of transferring his ſeat to another noble. The ſeat of a repreſentative, who declines attending, is filled by the perſon who is next in ſucceſſion *. As there are about 1200 noble families, if each head attended, the members preſent in the houſe would amount to that number; but there being no neceſſity for aſſiſting at the diet, the repreſentatives vary. In the late reign, when their votes were of greater conſequence than they are under the preſent form of government, they uſually amounted to 500

* Formerly each head had the power of transferring his ſeat to any one noble; but as this privilege gave riſe to a ſcandalous traffic of ſelling ſeats (ſee Sheridan, p. 159), the houſe paſſed a decree, prohibiting any repreſentative from appointing a noble of another family to be his ſubſtitute, to the prejudice of his own family in all its collateral branches, any of whom might, in preference to an alien, claim a right of aſſiſting at a diet, if the chief declined attending.

or

or 600; and on a remarkable occaſion, when Adolphus Frederic intimated a deſign of abdicating the throne, above 1000 took their ſeats. In the late diet of 1778, 700 made their appearance *.

II. The ſecond Houſe is that of the Clergy †.

The repreſentatives of this order conſiſt of the fourteen biſhops, and a certain number of

* The governors of the provinces, and the colonels of each regiment, attend the ſittings of the diet, in order to deliver in their reports; but they have no vote, excepting when they take their ſeats, as is uſually the caſe, as repreſentatives in their own right, or by the transfer of the heads of noble families. Theſe circumſtances have induced ſome authors erroneouſly to aſſert that the governors and colonels are, from their offices, entitled to ſeats and votes in the houſe of nobles.

† The Lutheran is the eſtabliſhed religion of Sweden. The members are biſhops, *domproſts* or deans, *proſts* or archdeacons, *paſtors* or rectors, and *comminiſters* or perpetual curates. There are fourteen dioceſes; the archbiſhopric of Upſala, and the biſhoprics of Lindkoeping, Skara, Strængnœs, Wœſteras, Wexio, Abo, Lund, Borgo, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlſtadt, Hermoſand, and Wiſby or Gothland. The revenues of Upſala and Wœſteras amount to about £. 1000 per annum; and thoſe of the loweſt biſhoprics to £. 300. The biſhops are bound to reſidence, excepting at the meeting of the diet. The chapters of Upſala, Lund, and Abo, which are univerſities, are compoſed of the biſhops, deans, who are always *primarii profeſſores* of divinity, and the other profeſſors of divinity; in thoſe

of eccleſiaſtics choſen in the following manner: The king's writ being iſſued to the chapter or eccleſiaſtical court of each dioceſe, the latter diſpatches a circular letter to the archdeacon of a diſtrict having the right of election; and he communicates the ſummons to the clergymen of his ſeveral pariſhes. Every perſon poſſeſſing a benefice, and every upper and under maſter of the royal ſchools, is an elector, and may be a candidate to repreſent that diſtrict *. The electors meet at ſome place towards the center of the archdeaconry; and the perſon who has the greateſt number of votes is choſen repreſentative. The biſhops are obliged to defray their own expences at the ſittings of the diet, though they uſually receive, in the larger dioceſes, 15*s.* per day; and in the ſmaller 10*s.*: but the

thoſe dioceſes in which there are *gymnaſia*, they conſiſt of the biſhop, dean, and the *lectores gymnaſii*, or profeſſors. In the dioceſe of Wiſby or Gothland, the chapter is formed by the biſhop and the neighbouring rectors.—There are alſo three ſuperintendents, who rank as biſhops, but do not ſit in the houſe: the firſt chaplain to the king; the rector of St. Nicholas at Stockholm; and the firſt chaplain of the navy.

* The *comminiſters*, or perpetual curates, have alſo a right to chuſe one repreſentative from the comminiſters of each dioceſe: but as they are bound to pay the repreſentative, they ſeldom make uſe of their privilege.

others muſt be paid by their conſtituents about 5*s.* or 6*s.* per day. The number of the repreſentatives is uncertain, becauſe each archdeaconry has the privilege of ſending one member, or of joining with another in the choice of one: they have been ſeldom leſs than 50, and have never exceeded 80.

III. The third Houſe is that of the Citizens.

Sweden contains 104 towns, which enjoy the privilege of ſending members to the diet. Every citizen of theſe towns engaged in trade and commerce, being a freeman, and paying taxes to the town, is at the age of 21 an elector *; and every citizen, even the loweſt menial tradeſman, who has been a freeman during ſeven years, or an alderman during three, and who has attained the age of 24,

* The right of voting depends, in different places, on different qualifications. In ſome places it is derived from a certain aſſeſſment upon capitals employed in trade; in others from a tax upon land without the boundaries of the the town, &c. In all caſes, perſons who in this manner contribute largely to the public impoſts, enjoy an additional number of voices proportionate to the multiples which they pay: ſuppoſing, for inſtance, an annual rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* qualifies for a vote, any perſon paying 5*s.* has two; 10*s.* four votes; and ſo on. In Gotheborg there are about 1000 electors, and ſome rich merchants poſſeſs ſeveral hundred votes.

is qualified to be a repreſentative. Summons from the crown being iſſued by the governors of the provinces, the latter tranſmit them to the mayor and aldermen of each town having the right of appointing members. The mayor aſſembles the electors in the town-hall, and their choice is determined by the majority: none but freemen are permitted to be preſent. Each repreſentative receives from their conſtituents a ſmall contribution; which, in the larger towns, amounts to about 15*s.*; and in the ſmaller to 5*s.* 4*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, during their attendance at the diet. The number of members, who repreſented this order, was never preciſely the ſame. Each ſtaple town has indeed the right of ſending two; ſome of the largeſt, ſuch as Gotheborg, Nordkioping, Geffle, and a few others, three; and Stockholm always deputed ten *: but ſometimes one or two ſmall towns joined to elect only one deputy; and at other times each appointed its own members. The uſual number ſeldom fell ſhort of 100, and never exceeded 200.

IV. The fourth Houſe is that of the Pea-

* Of this number four are elected from the mayor and aldermen, two from the wholeſale merchants, two from retail traders, and two from perſons engaged in handicraft trades.

ſants; whoſe repreſentatives are choſen by, and from, the following order of ſubjects.

The definition of a peaſant is a farmer employed in agriculture, poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure, who has never followed any trade, or enjoyed any civil office. This deſcription includes only thoſe whoſe anceſtors were alſo farmers; and does not entitle either nobles, citizens, or even country gentlemen, though they may purchaſe the peaſant's eſtate, either to vote, or to be returned a member. The land qualifying the farmer, who is a peaſant, to be an elector, muſt be either crown land, or his own property. The moſt valuable of theſe eſtates may be worth £.600, and the pooreſt about £.30. If the land is poſſeſſed by two or more peaſants, the vote is ſplit among the ſeveral proprietors, each enjoying that ſhare of the vote which is proportionate to his ſhare of the farm *; but each of them is qualified to be a repreſentative. The peaſants who thus enjoy the privilege of nominating deputies, or of being elected themſelves, may be divided into three claſſes: 1. Peaſants whoſe farms conſiſt of crown

* Thus a peaſant having $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$d of an eſtate qualifying for a vote, has $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$d of a vote: and theſe fractions are all added together, which frequently makes an election for a member of the diet a very complicated buſineſs.

lands,

lands, which they enjoy for life upon payment of an annual quit-rent; and from which they cannot be removed but for being formally proved guilty of having neglected their culture. Upon the death of the proprietor, the leaſe is almoſt always granted to the eldeſt ſon. 2. and 3. Peaſants who have bought, at ſix years' purchaſe, either from the crown, or the nobility, the perpetuity of their farms on the payment of a quit-rent. The mode of election is as follows: The writ being iſſued to the governor of the province, he ſends it to the county judges, each of whom ſummons the peaſants within his juriſdiction to meet in the court of juſtice, and in his preſence, on the day appointed for the election. The members are choſen by the majority of voices. The conſtituents join in contributing the ſum of three, four, or five ſhillings per day towards defraying the expences of their deputy at the diet. The electors who uſually aſſemble in each diſtrict are ſeldom leſs than 30, or more than 100. The number of repreſentatives in the houſe of peaſants is extremely uncertain, as two diſtricts occaſionally unite in ſending only one deputy, and at other times elect two; but, upon an average, they uſually amount to about 100.

It is a very remarkable circumſtance, that,

in a conſtitution ſo free as that of Sweden, in which even the peaſants, as land-holders, are returned members to the diet, the country gentlemen, be their landed property ever ſo large, are not repreſented in the ſtates of the kingdom*; have neither any vote in the choice of repreſentatives, nor can be repreſentatives themſelves: a ſtrange inconſiſtency, that thoſe perſons, who are juſtly eſteemed the moſt reſpectable and incorrupt part of the body politic, ſhould not enjoy the leaſt ſhare in the legiſlature; while many mechanics and farmers, who are both as unqualified to canvaſs intricate political queſtions, as they are incapable of reſiſting the influence of bribery, poſſeſs that important privilege. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the limited monarchy in 1720 by the ariſtocratical party which raiſed Ulrica Eleonora to the throne, many country gentlemen ſigned an addreſs to the diet, repreſenting the impropriety of excluding ſo important an order of men from the ſtates of the realm. But as the articles

* The reaſon of the country gentlemen being excluded from all ſhare in the legiſlation, was, that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1720, was founded on the antient conſtitution of Sweden; by which the inhabitants were, as in moſt other countries of Europe, divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peaſants.

of

of government were finally ſettled, their application was not complied with: ſo well founded and juſt, however, were the principles of their remonſtrance; that the king, at the recommendation of the diet, advanced ſeveral of the petitioners into the order of nobles.

The ſtates of the kingdom, thus compoſed of the repreſentatives choſen in the manner juſt deſcribed, aſſemble at Stockholm in ſeveral places. The nobles in the houſe of nobles; the clergy in the cathedral; the citizens in the town-hall; and the peaſants in another apartment of the ſame building.

Having taken their ſeats, and choſen their reſpective ſpeakers, the four houſes repair in due form to a hall of the palace; where the king, clad in his royal robes and ſeated upon the throne, informs them, in a ſhort ſpeech, of the reaſons for which they are convened; deſiring them to aſſiſt him with their advice in the preſent juncture of affairs, and deliberate for the good of the kingdom. In anſwer to this harangue, the four ſpeakers compliment his majeſty in the name of their reſpective houſes; after which ceremony the repreſentatives immediately retire.

Laws are enacted in the following manner: During the ſittings of the diet, every member

of the four houſes has the privilege of propoſing a queſtion to the conſideration of the aſſembly to which he belongs. A debate takes place upon the motion, which is carried or rejected by a majority. If it paſſes in one houſe, it is ſent by a deputation to each of the others; and, if aſſented to by three, is preſented by the four ſpeakers to the king: his majeſty afterwards ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and communicates to them his aſſent or diſſent in form. The latter negatives the bill, and the former gives to it the ſanction of a law. If the bill originates from the king, it is thus brought in: his majeſty lays it before the ſenators, and having obtained their opinions in writing, refers it to the diſcuſſion of the ſtates; if they approve it, the four houſes repair to the palace, and communicate their aſſent to his majeſty; if it is rejected, they tranſmit their determination in writing by their ſpeakers, and accompany it with the reaſons which had induced them to diſſent. When the king chuſes to put an end to the diet; he ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolves them by a ſpeech.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

General remarks on the I. Population;—II. Revenues;—III. Military eſtabliſhment;—And, IV. Penal Laws, of Sweden.

THE population is perhaps more accurately aſcertained in Sweden than in any other part of Europe; which is owing to the peculiar care and attention paid by government to obtain a correct regiſter of the marriages, births, and deaths. For this purpoſe a *Tabell Commiſſion*, or a board for inſpecting and regiſtering the bills of mortality, reſident at Stockholm, was inſtituted in 1749; which maintains a correſpondence with all the pariſhes and towns in the kingdom. Tables are diſtributed to the clergymen and magiſtrates for the purpoſe of enrolling the marriages, births, and deaths in their reſpective diſtricts, and ſpecifying the number of inhabitants at that time ſubſiſting; and extraordinary care is taken to prevent miſtakes.

The firſt table is for a general liſt of the births, deaths, and marriages; the ſecond for the bills of mortality; the third for the number of inhabitants. The two former are kept by

by the parish-priests, and annually delivered; the latter by the parish-priest in the country, and by the magistrates in the towns, and are sent to the board at the end of every third year *. A copy of the two former tables is here subjoined, as their useful tendency is evident; and as an institution of a similar nature could not fail of being highly advantageous to every country.

* The ascertaining of the number of inhabitants is greatly facilitated by the poll-tax, and by the care taken by the clergy to keep exact registers. About thirty years ago the diet passed a law, that every person in Sweden, both male and female, should learn to read. This regulation is considered as part of the ecclesiastical discipline; and is particularly attended to by the clergy, who examine the children in their respective parishes.

TABLE

T

A B L E sent by the Government of Sweden into the ſeveral Provinces, for the Purpoſe of aſcertaining the Population.

For the Year 17 . . . Liſt of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

	Births.						Deaths.										Marriages.	
	Legitimate.		Illegitimate.		Sum Total.		Till the age of 10 incluſ.			Above 10 years old.			Married Perſons.			Sum Total.	Divorces.	Contracted.
Months.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Sum.	M.	F.	Sum.	M.	F.	Sum.	M. F.	Coupl.	Couples.
January, February, March, &c.																		
Sums.																		
Total of all the births in 17 . .							Total of deaths											

REMARKS.

The twins are included in the preceding numbers among the births; here thoſe women are only enumerated who have been brought to-bed of two or three children at a birth.

Twins	Of three children

Here are placed the children born dead, who were not included in the births.

Males	Females

Here is marked the age of all women who have been brought to-bed.

				Number.
—	between	15	— 20 years	
—	—	20	— 25	
—	—	25	— 30	
—	—	30	— 35	
—	—	35	— 40	
—	—	40	— 45	
—	—	45	— 50	
			Total	

Perſons who died at paſt ninety are compriſed among the deaths; but here their ſeveral ages are reſpectively mentioned.

	Males.	Females.
Between 90 and 95		
95 and 100		
Above 100		
Sums		
Total of the whole year		

What ſpecies of diſorders were moſt prevalent, and at what ſeaſon of the year.

Seaſons.	Diſorders moſt prevalent at ——.
Spring	
Summer	
Autumn	
Winter	

CASUALTIES.

	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
a. Overlaid by mothers or nurſes			*b.* Frozen to death		
b. Parricides			*i.* Suffocated by ſmoke		
c. Aſſaſſinated			*k.* Suicides		
d. Starved to death			*l.* Killed by lightning		
e. Drowned in the ſea			*m.* Cruſhed in felling trees, &c.		
f. Drowned in wells			*n.* Found dead		
g. Periſhed under the ice			*o.* Loſt in mines		
			p. &c. &c. &c.		
Sum			Total		

Here are noted any extraordinary circumſtances which happened in the three kingdoms of nature—the harveſt—price of grain, &c.

Liſt of malefactors, with their executions and puniſhments.

Bills

Bills of Mortality for the Year 17—.

Age of the Deceased.	Above a year old.		From 1—3		From 3—5		From 5—10.		10—15, and so on for every 5 years to 100		Total of Deaths and their Disorders.
Sexes.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Fever											
Empyema											
Quinzy											
Stone											
Cirsocéle, &c.											
Erysypelas, Gangrene, &c.											
Suffocation, Apoplexy											
Intermitting Fevers											
Spotted Fever											
Putrid Fever											
Hemorrhage											
Consumption											
Cholic, &c.											
Jaundice, &c.											
Gout											
Convulsions											
Epilepsy											
Scurvy											
Fistulas, Ulcers											
Dropsy											
Cancer											
Leprosy, Itch											
Venereal Complaints											
Madness											
Old Age											
Child-bed											
Flux, or Loss of Blood											
Rash											
Hooping-cough, Asthma											
Small Pox											
Measles											
Scarlet Fever											
Indigestion											
Worms											
Rickets											
Unknown or concealed Disorders											
Casualties, &c.											
Sum of Deaths, specifying Age and Sex.											
Total Deaths of both Sexes											

The

The celebrated aſtronomer, Mr. Wargentin, a member of this uſeful ſociety, has publiſhed, in the Tranſactions of the Royal Swediſh Academy of Sciences, a very clear and accurate account of the manner in which the board carries on its correſpondence, and collects the neceſſary information; and has drawn from the ſeveral regiſters an average computation of the annual deaths.

From ſeveral judicious calculations, formed from the regiſters of nine ſucceſſive years, he computes, that, in the country, the annual proportion of deaths to births is as 1 to 35, or, if the year is remarkably healthy, to 36 or even 37; and at Stockholm as 1 to 20. He adds, that, during the ſame period, there were 2036 men and 3540 women above the age of 90; of whom 212 men and 328 women were between 100 and 105; 31 men and 76 women between 106 and 110; 22 men and 19 women between 111 and 120; one man was 122; and one woman 127. At the end is a table of the marriages, deaths, and births, from 1755 to 1763. We find, in Cantzler's * State of Sweden, that, in 1760, the population amounted to 2,383,113 ſouls; that of theſe were 162,888 inhabitants of towns, excluſive of the nobility and clergy; and 2,220,225 perſons living in the country, including the nobility and clergy; and that, according to a fair calculation, the whole number might be claſſed in the following proportion; 10,645 nobles, comprizing 3597 under 15 years; 18,197 eccleſiaſtics and their families, and ſtudents, including 7073 under 15; 162,888 inhabitants of towns and their families

* P. 186. Memoires pour ſervir à la connoiſſance du Royaume de Swede; an excellent work, which, for accuracy and information, cannot be too highly recommended.

engaged

engaged in arts, manufactures, and trades; 2,191,383 inhabitants of the country employed in agriculture, the mines, &c.

I shall close this account with a list of the births and deaths in Sweden, and the number of inhabitants. The reader will not doubt its accuracy, when he is informed that I received it from Mr. Wargentin.

The list is classed according to the three great divisions of the kingdom.

In the first division, called Sweden Proper, comprehending the metropolis, Upland, Sodermanland, Nerike, Westmanland, Dalecarlia, and all the provinces to the North.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	12774	12605	25379	10857	11622	22479
1750	13708	13253	26961	10035	10110	20145
1751	15247	14518	29765	9916	10236	20152
1752	14347	13703	28050	11875	11948	23823
1774	15364	14971	30335	10029	10617	20646
1775	16180	15697	31877	10882	10920	21802
1776	15220	14537	29757	10622	10621	21243
1777	15047	14541	29588	12120	12118	24238

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	363541	419326	782867
1776	433494	480154	913648

In the kingdom of Gothland, comprehending Warmeland, Wœstergothland, Ostergothland, and all the provinces south of them, with the islands of Oeland and Gothland.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	17327	16777	34104	13185	13852	27037
1750	19111	18439	37550	13406	14071	27477
1751	20016	19510	39526	13166	13584	26750
1752	18831	18092	36923	12698	12946	25644
1774	19507	18678	38185	11506	12311	23817
1775	20301	19465	39766	13691	14456	28147
1776	19016	18166	37182	11999	12454	24453
1777	19466	18570	38036	13227	13797	27024

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	477079	525781	1,002860
1776	553171	594985	1,148156

In Finland.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	8546	8257	16803	5827	5828	11655
1750	8879	8550	17429	5446	5777	11223
1751	9508	9342	18850	5149	5326	10475
1752	9737	9658	19395	5698	5702	11400
1774	12211	11731	23942	6431	6321	12752
1775	12296	12167	24463	7681	7782	15463
1776	12044	11880	23924	9361	9362	18723
1777	12609	12223	24832	9880	9915	19795
1778	13614	13202	26816	8010	7688	15698
1779	14180	13579	27759	7223	6872	14095

Number of Souls in Finland.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	205002	224910	429912
1776	298322	311823	610145

Liſt of Births and Deaths in the whole Kingdom.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	38647	37639	76286	29869	31302	61171
1750	41698	40242	81940	28887	29958	58845
1751	44771	43370	88141	28231	29146	57377
1752	42915	41453	84368	30592	30275	60867
1774	47082	45380	92462	27966	29249	57215
1775	47492	46030	93522	32254	33158	65412
1776	46280	44583	90863	31982	32437	64419
1777	47122	45334	92456	35227	35830	71957

Number of Souls in Sweden.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	1,045622	1,170017	2,215639
1776	1,284987	1,386962	2,671949
1781	About	— —	2,767000

By

By comparing the population of these three different epochs, the reader will perceive that the country has been gradually recovering from that exhausted state to which it had been reduced by the wars of Charles XII.; and that, within the space of thirty years, the number of inhabitants have increased 551,361, or a fifth part of its present population.

II. The revenues of Sweden are chiefly drawn from the rents of the crown demesnes; part of the great tythes; a poll-tax *; duties upon exports and imports; upon mines and forges; upon distilled spirits; deductions from salaries, pensions, and places; tax upon chimnies; and the monopoly of salt-petre. The net revenues in 1772, before the revolution, amounted to £.908,434; and by a few subsequent regulations † agreed to by the

* About 1*s.* 3*d.* each person. The poll-tax is paid by every person, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 63; excepting the nobles and their domestics; soldiers and government sailors; and every married couple among the lower class of farmers of a certain description, having four children, of which the youngest is under eight years of age.

† Such as assigning to the crown the monopoly for the distillation of spirituous liquors; and causing certain taxes to be paid in silver specie which were before discharged in copper money, and which, in effect, doubles the receipt of those particular imposts.

diet,

diet, convened upon the change of government, have been raiſed to about £. 1,000,000. This receipt, however, muſt not be conſidered as equivalent to the annual expenditure; for the greateſt part of the military forces, and a ſmall portion of the naval eſtabliſhment, which in other governments exhauſt ſo large a ſhare of the public ſupplies, are maintained with no charge to the crown. At the diet of 1778, the ſtates voted the king a free gift of £. 175,000, upon the birth of the hereditary prince.

No country perhaps has ever, in a greater degree than Sweden, experienced ſuch ſevere diſtreſſes from a want of gold and ſilver ſpecie; from a ſcarcity even of copper money *, and its enormous bulk; and from the fluctuating value of the bank notes, which at one period formed almoſt the only currency. Theſe evils, noticed by many travellers † who have

* On account of the advantages attending the exportation of the copper money, the intrinſic value of which was ſuperior to its nominal, and the immenſe number of bank-notes, there was ſcarcely any thing but paper currency. At one period even private ſhopkeepers iſſued ſmall printed notes, ſome ſo low as 1 *d.* 2 *d.* or 3 *d.* value, which they gave in exchange for the bank-notes.

† The reader will eaſily conceive the preſent improvements of the coin by the following paſſage in Mr. Wraxall's

have written upon Sweden, and which threatened a total bankruptcy, are now entirely removed by the king; to whom the ſtates of 1772 conſigned the difficult province of reforming the currency. His majeſty having obtained in Holland a loan of £.750,000. called in a conſiderable part of the bank-notes, and introduced ſuch a plentiful ſupply of ſilver coin, remarkable for its purity and convenience; that in the courſe of my progreſs through Sweden, I found not the leaſt difficulty of procuring, even in the diſtant provinces and ſmalleſt towns, ſilver money in exchange for gold or bank notes. The king has alſo, in a great meaſure, aboliſhed the

all's Tour which he made in 1774, only five years before I viſited Sweden. "Whatever quantity of precious me-"tals they have in the metropolis of this kingdom, I have "not yet ſeen one bit, however ſmall, either of gold or "ſilver, in my long journey from Helſimborg to this place; "nor have they, I am well aſſured, any ſuch commodities "in the provinces. In lieu of theſe two articles, generally "uſed amongſt us, they have two other articles which ſup-"ply their place, namely, copper and paper. Their bank "notes are as low as one ſhilling and ſixpence; and they "have them of all values, riſing gradually from that ſum. "It is often not a little diverting, when I tendered them "one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to 12 *s.* 6 *d.* "to ſee them bring both their hands full of copper coins; "nor can they convert it into current money by any other "means." Wraxall's Tour, p. 96.

numerous

numerous and complicated modes of pecuniary computation, which varied in different places, and under different circumſtances; and has enjoined one ſimple ſpecies of reckoning to be general throughout the kingdom, and to be indiſcriminately uſed on all occaſions *.

III. The military eſtabliſhment.

The Swediſh army is divided into national militia and garriſon regiments. The latter, or troops upon the German footing, are compoſed of natives and foreigners duly inliſted, and are ſtationed in the ſeveral garriſons, and receive their pay in money. Although the national militia firſt took a regular form under John III. yet its fixed eſtabliſhment, as it

* They computed, on different occaſions, and in different parts of the kingdom, by tons of gold, ſilver dollars, copper dollars, rixdollars, plotes, ſtivers, runſtics, or œhres, ſome whereof were imaginary, while the intrinſic worth of others was different from their real. A ton of gold = 100,000 ſilver dollars, or 300,000 copper dollars, ſilver money being of triple value to copper money; a rixdollar = 5 *s.*; a plote = 1 *s.* 8 *d.*; ſilver dollar = 10 *d.*; a copper dollar = $3\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* = 10 ſtivers and 2 runſtics; a ſtiver = 1 farthing and $\frac{1}{4}$ = 3 runſtics or copper œhres. The new mode of computation introduced by his majeſty, is by rixdollars, ſkelins, and runſtics. A rixdollar = 5 *s.* contains 48 ſkelins, and a ſkelin 12 runſtics. This mode has been adopted by government, and will, in proceſs of time, become general; though the people are, from long habit, ſo attatched to their antient complicated manner of reckoning, that they will not readily renounce it.

ſubſiſts at preſent, was ſettled by Charles XI. That prince reſumed the grants of the crown-demeſnes which had been laviſhed by his predeceſſors: ſome he reſtored, on condition that the proprietors of a certain portion ſhould furniſh a ſoldier; others he allotted for the maintenance of the officers. It was alſo enacted during his reign, that the lands thus aſſigned for the ſupport of the national militia, ſhould for ever remain appropriated to that purpoſe; and theſe regulations were further confirmed and augmented in 1723, with the additional clauſe, that they ſhould be conſidered as a fundamental part of the conſtitution, and ſhould never be aboliſhed.

In order to comprehend the nature of the Swediſh militia, it is neceſſary to obſerve that the kingdom is divided into diſtricts, which are reſpectively bound to furniſh and maintain a ſtipulated number of troops. With this view, each holder of a certain quantity of crown-land, called a *Hemman*, provides a ſoldier; aſſigns for his maintenance a ſmall portion of ground, a cottage, and a barn; and allows him 100 copper dollars, or £. 1. 7*s*. $8\frac{3}{4}$*d*. per annum, a ſuit of coarſe clothes, and two pair of ſhoes. When the ſoldier is abſent, either with the army in time of war, during the annual reviews, or is employed

ployed in the ſervice of government; the landholder cultivates his ground * for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and family; and, when he is preſent, may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages beſtowed upon a labourer †. Upon the death of the ſoldier, his widow and children are obliged to cede the ground and houſe to his ſucceſſor, whom the landholder is bound to provide within the ſpace of three months upon pain of being fined.

With reſpect to the cavalry, a certain number of *hemmans* are joined to furniſh a man and horſe fully equipped, and to maintain them both.

Beſide 4*s*. 2*d*. annually paid by the proprietors of each *hemman*, towards defraying the expence of the ſoldiers uniforms, ſome crown-

* In my route through Sweden, I ſtopped to examine a portion of ground appropriated to the maintenance of a corporal of infantry: it meaſured 147 yards in length, and 117 in breadth; but as it was in general a deep ſand, only part was capable of being advantageouſly cultivated, ſo that it was by no means ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the corporal and his family.

† On an average a man's wages may be reckoned at 5½*d*. per day; excepting in harveſt-time, then they are ſeldom leſs than 11*d*. and ſometimes as high as 1*s*. 10*d*. for mowing in the fertile and well-cultivated provinces. A woman may gain about 3*d*. per day.

demeſnes are ſet apart for the ſame purpoſe, but in ſo ſmall a quantity, as to be ſcarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. On this account, as the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer ſpace than three weeks, they are ſeldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years. Upon a ſimilar principal, the officers of theſe national troops receive, inſtead of their pay in money, certain eſtates in land, called *boſtælle*, which are ſituated in the ſame province to which the regiment belongs. They are allowed an additional appointment in corn from the king's tythes. Each province being divided into a number of *hemmans* ſufficient to ſupport a regiment; the ſmaller provinces furniſh the regiments of infantry, and the larger thoſe of cavalry. The eſtate appropriated to the colonel is ſituated towards the center of the province, and of the grounds aſſigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of thoſe belonging to his company; and in a ſimilar gradation to the corporal.

In every year, either before or after the harveſt, when the peaſants are leaſt employed, the companies of each regiment are ſeparately aſſembled for a fortnight or three weeks. The landholder is obliged to tranſport the

man

man and his baggage to the place of rendezvous; and ſupport him during his ſtay at the review. Beſide theſe annual encampments, once in three years a general review of each regiment takes place. The men are alſo conſtantly exerciſed on Sundays after divine ſervice in ſmall parties, and in larger corps for ſome time before the encampment, but more particularly in Spring. If, in time of war, theſe troops march out of the country, the crown receives the uſual contributions from the landholder, and provides the ſoldiers with clothes, proviſions, &c.

In the Spring of 1779 the following was nearly the ſtate of the Swediſh army:

REGULAR TROOPS.

Nine * regiments of infantry -	9,000
Two of cavalry - - - - - -	800
Artillery - - - - - - -	2,900
Total of regular troops -	12,700

NATIONAL MILITIA.

Twenty-one regiments of infantry, about - - -	24,000
Seven of Cavalry - - - -	7,400
Light dragoons - - - -	3,400
Total of national militia -	34,800
Total of the garriſon and national troops - - - -	47,500

IV. I ſhall cloſe this chapter with a few remarks on the Penal laws.

There are four ſuperior courts of juſtice, called Hof-rætt: at Stockholm for Sweden Proper; at Joenkoeping for the kingdom of

* The largeſt regiments contain 1670, the ſmalleſt 1000, and are divided into companies. The ſtaff-officers are, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quarter-maſter who ranks as captain, and two adjutants.—Each company of 150 men has a captain, lieutenant, enſign, five non-commiſſioned officers, and ſix corporals, the latter of whom are included in the 150.

Gothland;

Gothland; at Abo for South Finland; and at Vaſa for North Finland. No ſentence of death paſſed by the inferior courts can be carried into execution, unleſs ratified by theſe tribunals.

Every ſmall town has one court of juſtice, called Radſtugu-rætt; and every large town two, one whereof is alſo denominated Radſtugu-rætt, and the other Kæmners-rætt. In Stockholm there are four Kæmners-rætter for the four diſtricts of the city.

The inferior tribunals are *Kiamar's Rætter*, which aſſemble, as occaſion requires, in the principal towns; and the *Harads Rætt*, or a kind of aſſizes, are generally held three times in the year, under the county judges. It may not be unintereſting to mention in this place, that, in the latter, there is a kind of jury conſiſting of twelve peaſants, choſen by the diſtrict, and confirmed by the governor of the province: they continue in office for life, and ſeven of them form a court. In all criminal caſes the judge demands their opinion, which prevails againſt his deciſion if they ſhould be unanimous. But this inſtitution according to practice, is a mere formality: for the jurymen in the criminal courts * are ſo ignorant

* In civil proceſſes, the jurymen are not ſo inſignificant; being for the moſt part the richeſt peaſants.

and poor, that moſt of them pay an implicit deference to the dictates of the judge; their ſentiments have only force when they *all* agree; and they are not, as with us, *obliged* to be unanimous. The ſupineneſs indeed, and paſſiveneſs, of theſe inſignificant retainers of juſtice is ſo notorious, that a man, remarkable for his indolence and inattention, is commonly ſaid to be *as ſleepy as a juryman*.

The uſual modes of execution in Sweden are beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king; they either complain of unjuſt condemnation, and in that caſe demand a reviſal of their ſentence: or, if they allow themſelves to be guilty, may implore pardon or a mitigation of puniſhment. So mild are the penal laws, that ſeveral offences, which in other countries are conſidered as capital, are chaſtiſed by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, impriſonment and hard labour; more than 120 ſtrokes of the rod are never inflicted; nor is a criminal ſentenced to bread and water for more than 28 days.

Many flagrant abuſes in the courts of juſtice have been reformed and corrected by the preſent king. In all caſes of high treaſon, it is enjoined that previous notice muſt be ſent to the

the crown before any court can commence an inquiry: an ordinance which has put a ſtop to many frivolous and vexatious accuſations, that uſed to be brought againſt the ſubject. Before the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, it was very common for perſons indicted, but not convicted, of crimes, to ſuffer an impriſonment of ſeveral years without being tried: by the abolition of many tedious forms in the preſent reign, every criminal is arraigned within a ſhort period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration require no comment. His majeſty has increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, and conſigned their ſhare of the fines inflicted by their deciſion to other uſes: by this judicious regulation he has greatly leſſened the corruption and injuſtice which neceſſarily prevailed in thoſe tribunals; for the ſcanty incomes of the judges expoſed them to bribery; while a ſhare in the fines rendered them intereſted in convicting the criminal. The king has alſo promoted the rights of humanity, by ſuppreſſing, in 1773, the cruel and abſurd practice of torture, which was employed for the purpoſe of obtaining a confeſſion of guilt from ſuſpected perſons.

One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deſerves to be mentioned, and adopted in all countries; it is, that a criminal is tried without

without the leaſt expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The proſecutor denounces a perſon ſuſpected of guilt to the king's officer of juſtice, who carries on the proceſs at the public charge.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Stockholm.—*Deſcription of* Upſala.—*Antient palace.*—*Cataſtrophe of the* Sture *family.*—*Madneſs of* Eric XIV.—*Cathedral.*—*Tomb and character of* Guſtavus Vaſa.—*Genealogical table of the kings of* Sweden *his deſcendants.*—*Tomb of* John III.—Catharine Jaghellon.—Benedict Oxenſtiern.—Laurentius Petri.—*Account of the univerſity.*—*Public Library.*—Codex Argenteus.—*Viſit to profeſſor* Bergman.—*Royal Society.*—Moraſteen, *antient place of enthronement for the kings of* Sweden.

ALTHOUGH my ſtay in Sweden was limited, I was unwilling to quit the country without viſiting Gotheborg, the moſt commercial town next to Stockholm, and viewing the canal of Trolhætta, which had been repreſented to me as a moſt ſtupendous work. My companions preferring to ſee the mines of Fahlun and Dannemora, I quitted them at Stockholm, and rejoined them at Carlſcrona. Having purchaſed an open cart, the common travelling vehicle in this country,

try, which was rendered more commodious by two arm-chairs hung upon ſprings; I ſet out early on the 4th of March, accompanied by a Swediſh ſervant, who ſpoke French, as my interpreter; and arrived the ſame day at Upſala, which is diſtant about 45 miles from the capital.

Upſala, which ſtands in the beginning of an open plain fertile in grain and paſture, is a ſmall, but very neat town, containing, excluſive of the ſtudents, about 3000 inhabitants. The ground plot is extremely regular: it is divided into two almoſt equal parts by the ſmall river Sala; and the ſtreets are drawn at right angles from a central kind of ſquare; a few of the houſes are built with brick and ſtuccoed; but the generality are conſtructed with trunks, ſmoothed into the ſhape of planks, and painted red, and the roofs are covered in with turf. Each houſe has its ſmall court-yard, or garden.

Old Upſala, which is a place of high antiquity, and occurs in the earlieſt accounts of theſe Northern countries, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from that which now bears the ſame name; and was much celebrated as the principal place of ſacrifice in times of Pagan ſuperſtition, and the reſi-

dence

dence of the high-prieſt of Oden *. The preſent town, or new Upſala, is far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm: no authentic records, indeed, aſcertain the exact time of its origin; but ſeveral Swediſh antiquaries have with much probability conjectured; that it was at firſt a ſuburb of Old Upſala, and roſe upon its ruins, when that town became deſerted, and fell into decay †.

Upſala was formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal reſidence. The antient palace was begun in 1549 ‡ by Guſtavus Vaſa, and completed by Eric XIV. It was a ſpacious and magnificent building, until great part of it was, in 1702, conſumed by fire. The remains, which ſtand upon an elevated ſcite, and command a fine proſpect of the adjacent country, conſiſt of a wing, a ſmall part of another, and the principal front, which has been repaired, and is covered with a red ſtucco. An old entrance, vaſt maſſes of ruins, arches, vaults, and large piles of brick and mortar, are evident traces of its antient ſplendour. The room in which the diet of Sweden uſed to aſſemble is now converted into a

* Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Reg. Norweg. Vol. I. c. 76. Dahlin's Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. I. paſſim.

† Perinſkioldi Upſala Nova.

‡ Ibid. p. 317.

granary

granary; and affords no other proofs of its former importance than its dimenſions, being 140 feet in length, and 90 in breadth. The few remaining apartments in the wing which is not entire, are uſed as the common jail for criminals. Underneath are three dungeons, which were formerly appropriated to the confinement of ſtate priſoners; the moſt remarkable of whom was count Svante Sture, deſcended from an ancient family, which had given ſeveral adminiſtrators to Sweden; and which, before the election of Guſtavus Vaſa, had the faireſt pretenſions to the throne. Upon a door of one of theſe dungeons my conductor pointed out ſeveral characters coarſely notched, which, according to tradition, were made by count Svante in the agony of his diſtreſs, and as a memorial of his grief for the death of his ſon. The ſight of theſe characters, and the name of Sture, brought to my recollection the ſudden extinction of that much injured family, to which theſe walls were a witneſs; and the gloomy madneſs of Eric XIV. which occaſioned that dreadful cataſtrophe. The miſtruſt and ſuſpicion which that unfortunate monarch had conceived againſt the nobility of Sweden, increaſing with the diſtreſſes of his reign, hurried him at length into a ſtate of inſanity: he

he ſaw a plot in the moſt common occurrences; and gave implicit credit to all the idle rumours of intended revolts, artfully ſpread by his favourites to intimidate or exaſperate him.

The Stures, as the principal family in the kingdom, had long been the chief object of his jealouſy, and had already felt ſome unwarrantable acts of authority. Nicholas, the ſon of count Svante, had lately experienced the following inſtances of his tyranny and caprice. Being, in 1566, cited by Eric before the diet, on a charge of miſconduct at the ſiege of Bohus, he was found guilty, and condemned to death. The king, however, inſtead of ſuffering the ſentence to be inflicted, or of remitting it entirely, acted with his uſual inconſiſtency. He ordered him to be carried in mock proceſſion through the ſtreets of Stockholm with a crown of ſtraw upon his head; and yet, ſoon after this public affront, he again received him into favour, and appointed him an embaſſador to the court of Loraine. But I haſten to the event which gave riſe to this detail, the impriſonment and extinction of the Sture family. Upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions merely derived from rumour, and ſome ſuborned witneſſes, count Svante and his ſons Eric and Nicholas, and

ſeveral other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were in 1567 accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the king, arreſted, and confined in the palace of Upſala. While their trial was yet pending, a report being ſpread that his brother John, whom he had impriſoned at Gripſholm, had eſcaped from confinement; he ſuddenly repaired to the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was confined, and ſaluted him with the appellation of traitor: the young count endeavouring to appeaſe his fury by throwing himſelf at his feet, the king ſtabbed him in the arm; the other, drawing the dagger from the wound, kiſſed it and preſented it to Eric, who, unmoved with ſuch an affecting inſtance of loyalty, repeated the blow, and ordered his ſervant to finiſh the murder. Seized with an inſtantaneous fit of remorſe, he flew to the dungeon of count Svante, and falling at his feet, called him his friend, exclaiming in an agony of deſpair, "In God's name, I entreat you to forgive "what I have committed againſt you."— "Willingly," replied the old count, melting into tears of compaſſion, "but if my "ſon's life is in danger, you muſt anſwer "for it before God."—"Yes, yes," replied the king in a tranſport of rage, "I was ſure "that I ſhould never obtain your pardon;" then

then giving orders to the jailer to ſecure the count, he haſtily quitted the palace in a peaſant's dreſs; and, accompanied by a few guards, roved about the country in a frantic manner. Dennis Bury, his preceptor, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from the town, fell proſtrate at his feet, and conjured him to ſpare the lives of the noble priſoners; a petition which proved as fatal to himſelf as to the perſons for whom he interceded: for Eric gave ſigns to one of his guards, who killed Bury upon the ſpot; and diſpatched immediate orders to the jailer at Upſala for the execution of the priſoners: orders of a madman, which were but too readily obeyed, and which extirpated at once the ancient family of the Stures.

Mean while, Eric wandered about the woods in a ſtate of remorſe and diſtraction; and was diſcovered on the fourth day after his departure from Upſala by his wife Catharine: ſhe found him in the parſonage of Odenſala, wild with grief and deſpair *, and ſcattering money among the people who were aſſembled upon this melancholy occaſion. The preſence of his beloved Catharine operated like a charm:

* Einem wildem Thier aehnlicher als einem Menſchen. Dahlin.

ſhe calmed his agonies; prevailed upon him to take nouriſhment and repoſe, and accompanied him to Stockholm, where he gradually recovered his ſenſes *. Soon, however, relapſing into his former ſtate of miſtruſt and ſuſpicions, his adminiſtration became ſo weak and odious, that, in the following year, he was depoſed by his two brothers, who united their forces againſt him. John aſcended the throne which Eric had ſo unworthily filled. In another place, I ſhall have occaſion to mention the circumſtances of his impriſonment and death †.

Upſala is an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt antient Chriſtian eſtabliſhments in Sweden. Everinus was the firſt biſhop; by birth an Engliſhman, he came in 1026, into this country at the requeſt of king Olaus Scotkonung, in order to aſſiſt in converting the natives of Old Upſala to Chriſtianity ‡. The ſimilarity of the Engliſh and Swediſh languages is mentioned as the motive which firſt brought Everinus, and afterwards ſeveral of his countrymen, into theſe parts as preachers of the Goſpel. He was no leſs qua-

* See Dahlin's Geſ. Vol. III. p. 511, &c. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. Liv. 9.

† See Chap. IX. of this book.

‡ See Dahlin, Vol. II. 468, &c.

lified

lified for this taſk from the meekneſs of his diſpoſition, than from his knowledge of the Swediſh idiom; not forcing, as was but too uſual, the natives to embrace the Chriſtian doctrines by violence and perſecution; but introducing the Goſpel by perſuaſion and example. His ſucceſſors in the ſee reſided for the moſt part at Sigtuna, until 1120, when Nicholas Ulphſon fixed the reſidence at Old Upſala. Stephen, a native of Eaſt Gothland, the ſeventh biſhop, was the firſt archbiſhop: he was raiſed to that dignity in 1164, and died in 1185. Falko, who was conſecrated in 1267, and expired in 1276, firſt transferred the reſidence to New Upſala. The immediate occaſion of this change in the archiepiſcopal ſeat was the deſtruction of the cathedral at Old Upſala by a violent fire in 1246, which was ſoon afterwards begun to be rebuilt on the ſpot where it now ſtands *.

In the center of the town ſtands the cathedral, a large building of brick: the architecture is in the Gothic ſtyle, excepting two towers of later date, which are ornamented with ſmall marble pillars of the Doric order, and which diſfigure the general ſymmetry of the other parts. This cathedral was begun

* Periſk. Chap. II. and IX.

in the middle of the 13th century, under the direction of Stephen Bonneville, a French architect *, who followed in its conſtruction the model of the church of Notre Dame at Paris. It has ſeveral times been greatly damaged by fire, but has been as frequently repaired.

Upon entering the cathedral I beheld with the greateſt reverence, and even a degree of enthuſiaſtic admiration, the ſepulchre which covers the venerable aſhes of Guſtavus Vaſa; it ſtands in a private chapel, and is an oblong monument of marble, with pyramids at each angle †: his figure is repreſented in marble between thoſe of his two firſt wives Catharine and Margaret, whoſe remains are interred in the ſame tomb.

Born in a private ſtation, and bred in the ſchool of adverſity, Guſtavus obtained and deſerved a crown by the firſt of all titles, the gratitude of his countrymen, for a ſeries of long and faithful ſervices. Sweden was indebted to him for her deliverance from a foreign yoke, and from the oppreſſions of a tyrant; for the abolition of an elective, and the eſtabliſhment of an hereditary monarchy;

* Perinſk. Mon. Ullarakenſia, p. 18.

† There were four pyramids; but one having fallen down, there are only three remaining.

and

and for the introduction of the proteſtant religion. An inſcription upon the tomb informs us, that Guſtavus was born in 1490; choſen adminiſtrator of Sweden 1520; elected king 1523; crowned 1528; and that he died 1560, in the 70th year of his age, and in the 40th of a glorious reign. Equally great in the public characters of a legiſlator, warrior, and politician, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every ſtation of life; whether we conſider his cool intrepidity and enterpriſing ſpirit, his honeſt integrity and political fore-ſight, his talents for legiſlation, his propenſity to letters, and encouragement of learning, his affability to the loweſt ranks, and his ſolid and enlightened piety. All his great qualities, ſet off by a majeſtic and graceful perſon, and ſtill further heightened by the moſt commanding eloquence, drew the eſteem and admiration of all; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid of him, that the moſt arbitrary monarch never exerciſed a more unbounded ſway over his vaſſals, than Guſtavus poſſeſſed from the voluntary affection of his free-born ſubjects. In a word, he was a ſovereign who was eſteemed by foreigners no leſs than by his own people, by contemporaries as well as by poſterity, one of the wiſeſt and beſt that ever adorned a

throne. Beſide ſeveral inſcriptions, and a Latin epitaph in Hexameter verſe, two genealogical tables are engraved upon the tomb, which trace his lineage from the antient princes of the North: as if his great virtues did not reflect, rather than borrow, luſtre upon the moſt conſpicuous anceſtry. Guſtavus is the father of a line of kings, called from him the Houſe of Vaſa, whoſe poſterity, as enumerated in the following table, ſtill ſways the Swediſh ſceptre.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of SWEDEN of the Houſe of VASA.

I. GUSTAVUS ERICSON VASA, b. 1490; king 1623; d. 1560: married, 1. Catharine of Saxe Lauenburgh; 2. Margaret Leyonhufwud; 3. Catharine Steinbock.

II. ERIC XIV. b. 1533; depoſed 1568; d. 1577; mar. Catharine Mans.

GUSTAVUS, b. 1568; d. in Ruſſia 1607.

SIGRIDA, m. Count Tott.

III. JOHN III. b. 1537; king 1568, upon the depoſition of Eric; d. 1592: m. 1. Catharine Jagheilon princeſs of Poland; 2. Summil: Bielka.

IV. SIGISMOND, b. 1566; k. of Poland 1587; of Sweden 1592; dethroned 1604; d. 1632; m. 1. Anne daughter of the archduke Charles; 2. her ſiſter Conſtance.

JOHN duke of Eaſt Gothland, b. 1589.

LADISLAUS IV. king of Poland.

JOHN CASIMIR, k. of Poland.

JOHN ALBERT.

V. CHARLES IX. b. 1550; king upon the dethronement of Sigiſmond; d. 1611; m. 1. Maria princeſs Palatine; 2. Chriſtina princeſs of Holſtein.

CATHARINE, b. 1584; d. 1638; m. Caſimir prince Palatine of the Rhine.

VI. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, b. 1594; d. 1632; m. Maria Eleonora princeſs of Brandenburgh.

CHRISTINA MAGDALEN, m. Frederic VI. margrave of Baden Durlac.

VIII. CHARLES X. Guſtavus duke of Deuxponts; king 1654, upon the abdication of Chriſtina; d. 1660; m. Hedwige Eleonora princeſs of Holſtein-Gottorp.

VII. CHRISTINA, b. 1626; abdicated 1654; d. at Rome 1689.

ALBERTINA FREDERICA, m. Chriſtian Auguſtus of the Houſe of Holſtein-Eutin.

IX. CHARLES XI. b. 1655; d. 1697; m. Ulrica Eleonora daughter of Frederic III. king of Denmark.

XIII. ADOLPHUS FREDERIC, b. 1710; biſhop of Lubec 1727; king 1751; d. 1771; m. Louiſa Ulrica daughter of Frederic William king of Pruſſia.

HEDWIGE SOPHIA, b. 1681; m. Frederic duke of Holſtein Gottorp.

X. CHARLES XII. b. 1682; d. 1718.

XI. ULRICA ELEONORA, b. 1688; queen upon the death of Charles XII. abdicated in 1721 in favour of her huſband.

XII. FREDERIC Prince of Heſſe Caſſel.

Ulrica d. 1741; Frederic 1751.

XIV. GUSTAVUS III. b. 1746; m. 1766 Magdelen Sophia princeſs of Denmark.

CHARLES duke of Sudermanland, b. 1748; m. Hedwige princeſs of Lubec.

FREDERIC duke of Eaſt Gothland, b. 1750.

SOPHIA ALBERTINA, b. 1753.

CHARLES FREDERIC, b. 1700; d. 1739; m. Anne daughter of Peter the Great.

CHARLES PETER ULRICH, emperor of Ruſſia, under the name of Peter III.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, b. Nov. 1, 1778.

In an adjoining chapel repoſe the aſhes of his ſecond ſon John III. who aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1568. He did not owe his elevation to his own great or eminent qualities, but ſolely to the inſanity of his brother Eric XIV. whom he contrived to depoſe. This uxorious ſovereign, the degenerate ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, ſoon loſt the affection of his ſubjects by his weak and imprudent conduct, and by his attempts to recover Sweden to the Roman Catholic religion. His tender conſcience, though it did not prevent him from poiſoning his brother Eric; yet induced him to pay a moſt ſcrupulous obedience to the ridiculous penance * ordered by the pope for the commiſſion of that murder. Though a bigot in all ſects, he ſeems to have formed no ſettled principles of religion, but became by turns a Proteſtant and a Catholic, as he was governed by perſons of different perſuaſions. During his father's reign he was a zealous Lutheran; while his firſt wife Catharine lived, a ſincere Catholic; upon his ſecond marriage with a Swediſh lady, who was a Lutheran, his zeal for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman doctrines

* Namely, to faſt one day in the week; a penance, which, it is ſaid, he never omitted. Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 80.

ſubſided; and at his death he expreſſed an almoſt total indifference for the introduction of that new liturgy, which he had before been ſo active in enforcing, to the hazard of a civil war. A ſhort epitaph, after an exaggerated deſcription of his military reputation, aſcribes to John an accompliſhment which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, the knowledge of languages. It might have added, an extenſive erudition in all branches of literature, more indeed *, according to the expreſſion of a Swediſh hiſtorian, than became a ſovereign, a graceful perſon, and the moſt winning affability of manners. He died in 1592, neither regretted nor eſteemed; conſigning to his ſon Sigiſmond king of Poland, together with his unpopularity and ſuperſtition, the ſceptre of Sweden without authority; a precarious poſſeſſion, ſoon to be ſeized by the father † of Guſtavus Adolphus.

Under a ſuperb monument, erected to her memory by her doating huſband, is depoſited the body of Catharine Jaghellon, princeſs of

* Dahlin.

† Charles IX. third ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, who is leſs known for his own merits, which were highly deſerving of a crown, than for being the father of an hero who gave law to Europe.

Poland.

Poland, and conſort of John III. a woman of great beauty and elegant manners. By her unfortunate aſcendancy over her uxorious lord, ſhe occaſioned all the religious feuds which diſgraced his adminiſtration; and, by inſtilling the moſt intolerant principles into her ſon Sigiſmond, entailed upon this kingdom all the civil troubles which diſtracted his reign; and which ended in the loſs of his Swediſh crown. Her attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, in which ſhe had been educated, was as ſincere as it was firm; and would not have been mentioned to her diſcredit, if ſhe had not been inflamed with a blind rage for making proſelytes by compulſion, which characterizes the bigotted profeſſors of that perſuaſion. Her death, which happened in 1583, was friendly to the peace of Sweden; as her compliant huſband, when no longer inflamed by her preſence, cooled in his attempt to force Popery upon his ſubjects; and the heats of religious diſpute, which ſhe had kindled into a flame, ſubſided for a time.

In a ſmall chapel is the ſepulchre of the Stures, that illuſtrious family whoſe extinction has been already related. The aſhes of the three Stures, who fell a ſacrifice to the tyranny of Eric, are diſtinguiſhed by a monument,

ment, which was erected by the widow of count Svante; it contains, beſide ſeveral epitaphs in hexameter verſe, a pathetic inſcription in Latin proſe. The ſubſtance whereof is as follows:

"This is the burial-place of the laſt remaining branch of the Stures, whoſe antient and royal lineage was illuſtrated by Steno, Svante, and Steno, three ſucceſſive adminiſtrators of Sweden; deſervedly, for their merits and virtues, ſtyled Fathers of their country. But Svante, ſon of the latter Steno, raiſed to the dignity of count at the coronation of Eric XIV. and his ſons Nicholas and Eric, both eminent in war and peace, fell victims to a violent death on the 4th of May, 1566. All that was great and noble could not ſoothe the iron heart of their ſovereign. Reader! if thou art not equally unfeeling, deplore the unmerited cataſtrophe of ſuch exalted virtue."

A tomb, erected in honour of count Oxenſtiern, has been miſtaken by ſome travellers for that which covers the aſhes of Axel, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden; who directed the adminiſtration of affairs under Guſtavus Adolphus, Chriſtina, and Charles X. one of the greateſt men that Sweden, fertile

in great men, ever produced. But his remains were depoſited in another place *. The perſon who lies interred in this cathedral is his nephew Benedict Oxenſtiern, who ſeems to have inherited the political abilities and great integrity of his uncle. Benedict was born in 1623, and enjoyed the favour of four ſucceſſive ſovereigns; all of whom had the higheſt conſideration for his talents and abilities. After filling ſeveral great offices, he was raiſed, in 1688, to the higheſt civil employment, the chancellorſhip, and died in 1702, in full poſſeſſion of his maſter's confidence and the people's eſteem.

Falko, the firſt archbiſhop who was interred in this church, was a great benefactor to the ſee; and is the ſame perſon mentioned in the former part of this chapter, who, in 1273, transferred the epiſcopal ſeat from Old to New Upſala. He alſo cauſed the bones of his predeceſſors to be tranſported from their burial-place in Old Upſala, to the cathedral; where they were depoſited with great ſolemnity, and many ceremonies †.

* Axel Oxenſtiern died at Stockholm in Auguſt 1654; and his remains were carried to Tyholm, and there interred in the family vault. Mem. de Chriſtine, Vol. I. p. 483.

† Perinſkiold, p. 135.

The

The firſt Proteſtant archbiſhop was Laurentius Petri, of the province of Nerike, who, in conjunction with his brother Olaus Petri, firſt preached the reformed doctrines to the Swedes; and tranſlated the Bible into his native tongue. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation, the introduction of which was greatly owing to his labours, he was, in 1531, conſecrated archbiſhop; and continued to fill the ſee with credit until his death, which happened in 1570, in the 73d year of his age.

In the ſacriſtary of the cathedral are contained ſeveral relics, both ſacred and hiſtorical. The latter conſiſt of a few curioſities, which I ſhall particularize, from their alluſion to the hiſtory of Sweden. The firſt is an old log of wood, rudely carved into the reſemblance of a head ſcarcely human, and called the image of the god Thor, formerly worſhipped in theſe parts, and to whom human ſacrifices uſed to be offered at Old Upſala. That this image is of very high antiquity ſhould ſeem evident from its rude workmanſhip; and it may probably have been one of the deities to whom the ſuperſtitious inhabitants paid their public homage; as, in early ages, and amid a barbarous people, the idols are in general of the coarſeſt form. With

reſpect

reſpect to the figure, I ſhall obſerve, that Dahlberg, in his *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, has given an engraving of it by far too elegant to bear much reſemblance to the original; but the reader will find a more accurate delineation in Perinſkiold's *Monumenta Ullarekarenſia*, in which no foreign embelliſhments are added.

A whetſtone, ſeveral feet in length, next attracted my attention; which, as tradition relates, Albert, who in 1434 aſcended the throne of Sweden, ſent in mockery to Margaret of Waldemar, recommending her to ſharpen upon it her own ſword, and the weapons of all her army: a taunt which he would willingly have retracted, when routed and taken priſoner by the very woman whom he affected to deſpiſe.

The third curioſity was a ragged ſtripe of linen, faſtened to a ſtaff like a pair of colours, called the ſhift of Margaret; which was carried in battle as the main ſtandard, in order to animate the troops by the recollection of her martial ſpirit. Theſe remains were preſerved at Nuremberg, brought from thence when that town was taken by the Swedes, and depoſited in the cathedral of Upſala, in honour of the Semiramis of the North. How this ſhift was firſt procured by the inhabitants

tants of Nuremberg, why it was there conſidered as a relic, and the exact period when it was imported into Sweden, I muſt leave to be aſcertained by thoſe who are diſpoſed to trace its hiſtory and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it has ever had the honour of giving a name to any particular colour, like the ſhift of Iſabella queen of Caſtile.

The kings of Sweden were formerly crowned in this cathedral; but that ceremony is now performed at Stockholm, Ulrica Eleonora being the laſt monarch who was inaugurated at Upſala.

This town is particularly celebrated for its univerſity, the moſt antient in Sweden. In 1246 Birger Jarl eſtabliſhed a ſchool at Upſala; and in 1478 Steen Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, laid the firſt foundation of the univerſity; the plan whereof had been formed, but not carried into execution, by Eric of Pomerania: the regulations were modelled after thoſe of Paris. The inſtitution was confirmed in a diet which met at Strængnæs on the 2d of July; and the univerſity was opened with due ceremony on the 7th of October in the ſame year *. Guſtavus Vaſa

* Dahlin, Vol. II. p. 610.

warmly

warmly patronized it, as being the place in which he had completed his aducation; and as it was greatly fallen into decay, he conferred upon it ſo many additional privileges, and endowed it in ſo ample a manner, that he is juſtly called its ſecond founder. Under John III. it was transferred to Stockholm; but again reſtored to Upſala by Charles IX. * During the conſtant wars in which that prince was engaged with his rival Sigiſmond king of Poland, it conſiderably declined; but was again revived by Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe extenſive knowledge and protection of letters are loſt in the ſplendour of his military atchievements. That great monarch, beſide conſtructing a large building at his own expence, endowed the univerſity with his patrimonial eſtate of Vaſa; by which donation the ſalaries of the profeſſors were augmented, and 150 ſtudents maintained. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors, as well as by ſeveral individuals; and as the funds have increaſed, the number of ſcholars ſupported by them have been conſiderably enlarged.

At the head of the univerſity is a chancellor (who is always a perſon of high rank and conſequence), choſen by the profeſſors, and

* Meſſ. Scon. Illuſ. Tom. IV. p. 37. Dahlin.

confirmed

confirmed by his Majesty: he regulates and explains the statutes; composes all material differences; and delivers all petitions and messages from the body to the king. When he is absent, his office is supplied by the archbishop of Upsala. The presidency devolves by rotation upon one of the professors, who is styled *Rector Magnificus:* he is a kind of justice of peace; can punish the students for small delinquencies, by sending them to prison; and settles such differences as are too trifling to be laid before the consistory.

The university has its own court of justice, called *Consistorium Minus*, for the trial of the students and dependents: it is composed of a certain number of professors; and judges misdemeanors according to common law. An appeal lies from its decision to a *Consistorium Majus*, which is formed by all the professors; and from that in the last resort to the provincial court of justice. The professors are about twenty-four in number, of whom the principal are those of divinity, eloquence, botany, anatomy, chymistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, and agriculture. Their salaries are from £.70 to £.100 per annum. Upon a vacancy in any of the chairs, one of three candidates, chosen by their body, is nominated by the king. During each term the profes-

sors

ſors give four public lectures in the week *gratis*; and the ſame number of private lectures, for which they receive from each of thoſe, who attend, the ſtipulated ſum of five ſhillings. A profeſſor, who has continued in office for the ſpace of thirty years, is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*; and enjoys his ſalary during life.

Youth are admitted into the univerſity of Upſala at about the age of ſixteen, for the completion of their academical ſtudies. They do not inhabit, as in our univerſities, any diſtinct college or colleges, there being no buildings for their accommodation, but lodge in the town; and repair to the general or private lectures, given by the ſeveral profeſſors, either at their own houſes, or at the public halls appropriated to ſuch purpoſes. The poorer ſtudents are aſſiſted in their expences by being appointed to ſcholarſhips, called *ſtipendia*; ſome founded by the crown, others by private perſons, but generally allotted for the natives of particular provinces. The higheſt in value of theſe ſcholarſhips amount to about £. 13 per annum. The common degrees, granted by this univerſity, are *Philoſophiæ Candidatus*, which anſwers to a Bachelor of Arts; and *Philoſophiæ Magiſter*,

to a Maſter of Arts. A ſtudent ought to be 24 years of age, in order to be admitted to his firſt degree; but this rule is not ſtrictly obſerved. Before he receives it, he muſt undergo ſeveral examinations from various profeſſors; and compoſe a Latin theſis, which he is bound to defend in the ſchools. Having taken his firſt degree, he may immediately enter upon his exerciſes for the ſecond; which conſiſt in another Latin theſis, in holding a public diſputation, and reading a lecture in the ſame language. The graduates in divinity, law, and phyſic, are ſtyled *Theologiæ*, &c. *Candidatus*, *Licentiatus*, and *Doctor*. The doctors of law and phyſic, in order to obtain their degrees, paſs certain examinations, and hold public acts in their reſpective profeſſions, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe paſſed by the maſters of arts; and the ſame forms are required from the doctors of divinity; unleſs, as is the uſual practice, they are created by the univerſity upon the king's mandate.

There is no academical diſcipline; the ſtudents being only liable to be puniſhed by the preſident and conſiſtory, according to the common law, for miſdemeanors and delinquencies. One inſtitution, however, preſerves ſome degree of order and ſubordination, the

diviſion

diviſion of the ſtudents into provincial claſſes according to their reſpective counties. Each claſs has a profeſſor at its head, called *Inſpector*, and two ſubdirectors, ſtyled *Curatores*: the other members are divided into *Seniores* and *Juniores*; the former of whom attend to, and in ſome meaſure regulate, the conduct of the latter. Each claſs aſſembles ſeparately, in the houſe of its particular profeſſor, at leaſt ſix times in the year, and oftener if occaſion requires. On theſe meetings the ſtudents paſs certain exerciſes, which they who do not perform cannot be raiſed to the rank of ſeniors.

Though the ſtudents have ordinarily no regular dreſs; yet, on certain occaſions, and particularly when they take their maſter's degree, they appear in a black ſilk cloak: they ought alſo, according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, to put on the ſame dreſs when they keep their acts; but for this omiſſion they uſually pay a ſmall fine. The profeſſors are, in days of ceremony, clad in black cloaks; the doctors of divinity are diſtinguiſhed by a hat of black ſilk; the doctors of law by one of white ſilk; and thoſe of phyſic by one of green or ſky-blue ſilk. The number of ſtudents vary every year, as in all fluctuating bodies; but upon an average may

be ſtated at about five hundred *, as may be collected from the following table:

	Spring Term.			Auguſt Term.		
	Admiſſions.	No of Students.		Admiſſions.	No of Students.	Acts.
In 1768	79	557	—	99	493	31
1769	94	552	—	116	568	54
1770	127	649	—	87	461	68
1771	106	492	—	88	488	45
1772	99	538	—	97	470	44
1773	130	569	—	83	563	62
1774	137	604	—	102	594	36
1775	133	628	—	115	657	64
1776	103	575	—	110	514	91
1777	115	531	—	113	541	51

During this period of ten years, were created 40 doctors in divinity, 23 in phyſic, and 151 in arts.

This univerſity, juſtly called by Stillingfleet, "that great, and hitherto unrivalled, ſchool of natural hiſtory," is certainly the firſt ſeminary of the North for academical education; and has produced, from the time of its inſtitution, perſons eminent in every branch of ſcience. The learned publications which have lately been given to the world by its members, ſufficiently prove the flouriſhing ſtate of literature in theſe parts; and the theſes compoſed by the ſtudents upon their

* Chronick der Univerſitat Upſala in Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, III. p. 166.

admiſſion

admiſſion to their degrees, would form a very intereſting collection. Many of theſe tracts, upon various ſubjects of polite literature, antiquities, languages, &c. which have fallen under my obſervation, evidence the erudition and taſte of the reſpective authors: among the works of this ſort, which have widely diffuſed the fame of this learned ſociety throughout Europe, are the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, or a collection of theſes upon Natural Hiſtory, held under the celebrated Linnæus, and chiefly ſelected by that able maſter. Dr. Pulteney, in the View of his Writings, gives the following account of this work: "In the year "1749 was publiſhed the firſt volume of a "collection of Theſes in octavo, under the "title of *Amœnitates Academicæ*, ſeu *Diſſer-* "*tationes variæ, Phyſicæ, Medicæ, et Botanicæ.* "This publication has been continued, from "time to time, to the completion of the ſe- "venth volume in the year 1769. Theſe "volumes, as ſoon as publiſhed, were regu- "larly reprinted in Germany and Holland. "It is ſuppoſed the firſt volume was not ori- "ginally collected by Linnæus himſelf; but "he at leaſt reprinted it very early, and, that "he might not be defrauded of the advan- "tage of theſe publications, he became the "editor of all the ſucceeding volumes. As

" theſe academical diſſertations had been re-
" cited before Linnæus in his profeſſorial cha-
" racter, and were ſelected by himſelf, they
" have been regarded as of equal authority
" nearly with his own writings; and many
" of them do in a particular manner illuſtrate
" and exemplify divers parts of his works, the
" ſubjects having been pointed out by him-
" ſelf in many inſtances for that purpoſe. For
" theſe reaſons we ſhall, in the courſe of this
" volume, give a very brief account of the
" purport of each diſſertation, ſince they con-
" tain a great variety of curious intelligence
" on the ſubjects of phyſic and natural hiſ-
" tory, every where digeſted in the moſt ſci-
" entific taſte *."

The library contains many valuable books and manuſcripts. Olaus Celſius, in a publication upon this ſubject †, informs us, that it owes its origin to Guſtavus Adolphus, who preſented the univerſity as well with his own private collection, which was very conſiderable, as with ſeveral libraries obtained in the different countries which he had over-run with his arms; it being his cuſtom to reſerve

* General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 45. p. 221—373.

† Bib. Upſal. Hiſtoria.

for

for himſelf, in all towns taken by ſtorm, the books eſpecially, as his ſhare of the plunder *. Thus the Jeſuits' library at Riga, that at Wurſtenburgh, and thoſe of many other conquered towns in Poland, Germany, and Pruſſia, were tranſmitted to Upſala. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors; and thus the victorious arms of Sweden enriched the kingdom with theſe literary acquiſitions. Olaus mentions Chriſtina as a conſiderable benefactreſs to this library, and enumerates many private donors; among whom the moſt conſpicuous are count Magnus de la Gardie, and Sparwenfieldt, the learned traveller †, whoſe curious collection, conſiſting, among others, of many rare Arabian, Syriac, and Coptic manuſcripts, has been thought worthy of a ſeparate publication.

Among the moſt valuable pieces of literary curioſity is a manuſcript of the Four Goſpels, called, from its ſilver letters, *Codex Argenteus*; and ſuppoſed to be a copy of the Gothic tranſlation made by Ulphilas, the apoſtle of the Goths, in the fourth century. I ex-

* Ingentem auri argentique prædam militibus reliquiſſet rex; ſibi ſolos reſervavit libros, quos ſine morâ in patriam miſit, Upſalienſi Bibliothecæ inſerendos. Bib. Upſal. Hiſtoria, p. 21.

† Catalogus Centuriæ Lib. rariſſ. &c.

amined this curious volume with great attention. It is of a quarto ſize; the leaves, which I ſcarcely know whether to call vellum, parchment, or papyrus *, are ſtained with a violet colour; and upon this ground the letters, which are all capitals, were afterwards painted in ſilver, excepting the initial characters, and a few paſſages in gold. I was convinced, from a cloſe inſpection, that each letter was painted, and not formed †, as ſome authors have aſſerted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and ſilver. Moſt of the ſilver characters were become green by time; but the golden letters are ſtill in good preſervation. The Codex is mutilated in ſeveral places; but what remains is, for the moſt part, perfectly legible.

This manuſcript was, in 1597, firſt diſcovered in the library of the Benedictine Ab-

* Le Long Bib. Sac. where it is called by different perſons, Codex Membranaceus, Codicem in pergameno, Codex in papyro exaratus. In the Bib. Up. Codex membrana rubra, p. 116. By Michaelis, a manuſcript on vellum, p. 160.

† They appeared to me to be drawn, or painted, in the ſame manner as the initial letters in ſeveral of the fineſt Miſſals, and not ſtamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the bookbinders at preſent letter the backs of books. See North. Ant. Vol. I. p. 367.

bey of Werden in Weſtphalia, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted from it a few paſſages, which were inſerted in a Commentary on the Gothic alphabet, publiſhed by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Soon afterwards Arnold Mercator obſerved it in the ſame library; and tranſcribed alſo a few verſes, which Gruter * gave to the world in his *Inſcriptiones Antiquæ*. From the Abbey of Werden it was transferred to Prague, during the ſhort period in which that town was occupied by Frederic Elector Palatine. In 1648, Prague being ſtormed by the Swedes, it was found among the literary ſpoils by count Konigſmark, and ſent as a moſt valuable preſent to Chriſtina. The queen is ſaid to have given it to Iſaac Voſſius; but it is moſt probable that the crafty Dutchman took it without permiſſion, among many other rare books and manuſcripts, when he pillaged † her majeſty's library during the confuſion which preceded her abdication. Upon the death of Voſſius it was purchaſed from

* Gruter, Inſ. Ant. p. 146. He calls it Gothica vel Germanica. The curious reader, who compares the text in Gruter with that of the ſimilar paſſages in Lye, will obſerve conſiderable inaccuracies in the former.

† Memoires de Chriſtine, Vol. I. p. 308. In the library at Leyden is ſtill preſerved a curious collection, called *Furta Voſſiana*, which he is ſuppoſed to have pillaged from Chriſtina's library.

his

his exeeutor by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, for about £.250, and preſented by him to the univerſity of Upſala, where it now remains.

Three editions of the *Codex Argenteus* have been given to the public, the firſt printed at Dort, the ſecond at Stockholm, and the third at Oxford. The firſt was iſſued at Dort in 1665, by Francis Junius, who borrowed the manuſcript from Voſſius; and was accompanied with obſervations and a Gloſſary, by Thomas Marſhall. In this edition the text was a *fac ſimile* of the original *. The ſecond edition, publiſhed at Stockholm, 1672, by the learned Stiernhelm, differs from that of Junius, in giving the text in Latin, and not in Gothic characters. Notwithſtanding the reputation of thoſe two learned editors for their critical ſkill and exactneſs; yet Benzelius, firſt librarian of the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, upon comparing their texts with that of the original, diſcovered ſo many falſe readings and omiſſions, that he again collated the manuſcript, rectified the

* Another impreſſion of this work is ſuppoſed to have been printed at Amſterdam in 1672; but this is in reality the ſame as the former, with nothing more than another title-page, affixing a new date and place of impreſſion, according to a fraud not unfrequent among bookſellers.

miſtakes, and made a literal tranſlation in the Latin tongue. And as the Gothic types of the firſt edition publiſhed by Junius were preſerved at Oxford; he tranſmitted theſe collations and tranſlation, together with various obſervations, to Mr. Edward Lye of Oxford, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of the antient Northern languages *. The work was cheerfully undertaken, and faithfully executed, by that judicious ſcholar; and the third edition made its appearance in the year 1750, printed at the Clarendon preſs. To the obſervations of Benzelius, Mr. Lye added many learned remarks upon the text and verſion, and a Gothic Grammar. This impreſſion is eſteemed, by thoſe who have had it in their power to compare it with the original Codex, a moſt complete work, and redounding greatly to the honour of the editor's accuracy.

The *Codex Argenteus* has given riſe to a curious controverſy among the learned. In the examination of this manuſcript, different perſons have thought that they diſcovered a ſimilitude in the characters to thoſe of the Greek, Latin, Finniſh, Runic, Daniſh, German, or Gothic; each adopting an opinion

* Hiſt. Bib. Up.

according

according to his favourite hypotheſis, and referring its original to the anceſtors of his own country. Nor is this a matter of any ſurpriſe: for as the barbarous nations, who were converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks and Romans, received from them either a new alphabet, or, at leaſt, ſeveral new characters; it neceſſarily follows, that moſt of the antient letters uſed by the Goths, Franks, Huns, Sclavonians, and other bordering nations, muſt bear in many points a great affinity to each other; ſo that a framer of a fanciful ſyſtem may readily conceive a reſemblance in the whole, which exiſts only in a few parts. But without entering into an inquiry which may lead us too far, the queſtion concerning the original tongue of the *Codex Argenteus* is reduced to two opinions; the firſt, that it is written in the ſame language and character as were uſed in the fourth century by the Goths of Mæſia, the anceſtors of the preſent Swedes, and is a true copy of the verſion made by Ulphilas; the ſecond, that it is a tranſlation in the Frankiſh idiom.

The firſt opinion is ſtrongly ſupported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzelius, and Lye; the ſecond, as warmly defended by Hickes, La Croze, Wetſtein, and Michaelis. To enter into a diſcuſſion of all the

the arguments advanced on both ſides with equal erudition, would require a larger compaſs than the nature of this work will admit; and to give a partial abſtract of them would only invalidate their reſpective ſtrength. Thus much is certain, that as the reaſonings admit not of any poſitive evidence on either ſide, but are chiefly drawn from vague conjectures; an unprejudiced inquirer will find it no eaſy matter to form a deciſive and ſatisfactory judgment. I ſhall refer, therefore, the inquiſitive reader, for further information, to the ſeveral writers upon this ſubject; and ſhall add only, that with reſpect to my own opinion, after having minutely weighed the arguments on each ſide, I am inclined to aſſent to the notion, that the Codex Argenteus * is a copy of the very original verſion made by Ulphilas in the Gothic idiom. I was once indeed leaning to the opinion of its being a Frankiſh verſion, but was induced to

* See the ſeveral editions of the Codex Argenteus by Junius, Stiernhelm, and Lye. Hickes Gramm. Mæſo Gothica in his Theſaurus Ling. Sept. La Croze Diſſ. Philol. at the end of Chamberlayne's Orat. Dom. p. 136. Wetſtein's Proleg. in Nov. Teſt. ſect. 68 to 71. Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 116 to 123. Le Long, Bib. Sac. Vol. II. p. 140 and 538.

alter

alter my judgment from the arguments of Benzelius and Lye, in the Preface to the Oxford edition *; and especially from a very ingenious treatise, published by Ihre †, by which it appears that several specimens of the Ostrogothic tongue have been lately discovered in Italy, which perfectly resemble both the characters and language of the version in the *Codex Argenteus*.

But to whichsoever side we may incline, as both the Gothic and Frankish idioms were dialects of the Teutonic or German; this manuscript must be considered as the most ancient specimen extant of that language. Its antiquity has been unquestionably proved without a dissenting voice. They who conclude it to be the version of Ulphilas, must of course hold it to have been made in the middle of the fourth century; and even those authors ‡ who contend for its being a Frankish trans-

* Preface to Lye's Sac. Evan. Vers. Goth.

† Monumentum veteris linguæ Ostrogothicæ, Neapoli haud pridem repertum, &c. In Act. Nov. Reg. Soc. Scien. Upsal. Vol. III. See also Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 204.

‡ La Croze and Michaelis. The latter has, I am informed, changed his opinion; and in the second edition of his Lectures on the New Testament, which I have not yet met with, agrees with Mr. Ihre.

lation,

lation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Chilperic, between 564 and 587. Its high antiquity is proved, as well from its containing the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in the thirteenth verſe of the ſixth chapter of St. Matthew, which is not to be found in any of the moſt antient verſions; as from its interpreting many paſſages in a ſimilar manner with ſeveral of the Latin tranſlations which are known to have been antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerom *. Another circumſtance worthy of notice, and which enhances its value, is, that it was undoubtedly tranſlated from the original Greek, and not from any of the Latin verſions †. We will not detain the reader with idle conjectures from Watchterus ‡, that this ſplendid Codex belonged to Alaric, the Gothic king of Toulouſe; or of Papebroch §, that it was the identical exemplar which the emperor Valens preſented to Fritigern, general of the Viſigoths eſtabliſhed in Mæſia; but ſhall conclude by obſerving, that to whomſoever it belonged, or by whomſoever tranſlated, it muſt be con-

* Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. II. p. 142.

† Prefatio in Lye, cap. ii.; and Michaelis' Lectures, p. 165.

‡ Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 118.

§ Le Long, Vol. II. p. 531.

ſidered

ſidered as a work of great authority, and a literary treaſure of high antiquity *.

In this library two original manuſcripts of the unfortunate Eric XIV. caught my attention. They are in Latin, and were compoſed in 1566 and 1567, the two years which immediately preceded his depoſition. They contain his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological, obſervations and predictions, written with his own hand, after his daily examination of the ſtate of the heavenly bodies. The names of his brothers occur frequently, accompanied with great marks of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, and the deaths of ſeveral perſons are predicted. Some hiſtorical facts are blended occaſionally with the obſervations; and theſe notes afford a moſt convincing proof of the diſtracted ſtate of Eric's mind; at the ſame time that they diſcover evident traces of his great learning and extenſive erudition. Upon examining a few of his notes, I was ſtruck with the reſemblance between him and the emperor Rho-

* Another fragment of this curious manuſcript, containing a few chapters of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbuttle, and is now preſerved in the library of that town, where I ſaw it in 1777. The original letters were partly eraſed and written upon. See Nonnulla Cap. Epiſ. Pauli ad Rom. publiſhed at Brunſwick by Fran. Anton. Knitell.

dolph

dolph II. Both theſe ſovereigns began their reigns with the faireſt hopes; both were not only the zealous protectors of learning, but even men of letters themſelves; as well verſed in polite literature, as ſkilled in the abſtruſer ſciences *; both were ſtrongly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and drawing from the various combinations of the heavenly bodies a preſage of their own good or ill fortune, in the moſt common as well as the moſt important occurrences of life. Both were jealous, even to miſery, of their relations and ſubjects; and both were at length depoſed by their brothers, whom they had driven by their ſuſpicions to conſpire againſt them; with this difference only, that Rhodolph, though compelled to renounce the imperial throne in favour of Matthias; yet remained king of Bohemia until his death, and was not, like Eric, impriſoned and murdered. Rhodolph, indeed, though equally jealous and ſuſpicious, was

* Celſius ſays of Eric XIV. "Erat ille plurimis ſcientiis "ita inſtructus, ut majorem certe a literis quam a ſceptro "gloriam reportaverit." Bib. Upſ. Hiſt. p. 4. And Voltaire ſays as juſtly of Rhodolph II. "La philoſophie "qu'il cultivait, lui avait appris tout ce qu'on pouvait "ſavoir alors, excepté à remplir ſes devoirs de Souverain. "Il aimait beaucoup mieux s'inſtruire avec le fameux "Ticho Brahe, que tenir les etats de Hongrie et de Bo-"heme." Hiſt. Univ. c. 147.

not guilty of ſuch exceſſes and cruelties as diſgrace the reign of Eric; but both were equally incapable of governing, though endowed with excellent underſtandings, and acquainted with every branch of ſcience.

There are in this library of Upſala few manuſcripts of the claſſics of much importance; but the printed editions are numerous and good.

Having deſired the librarian to ſhew me the firſt book printed in Sweden; he pointed out to me *Dialogus Creaturarum moralizatus*, publiſhed at Stockholm in 1483, by John Snell, a German printer, invited into Sweden by the adminiſtrator Steen Sture.

Before I cloſe my account of the univerſity library, I muſt take notice of a beautiful cabinet of ebony and cypreſs, ornamented with precious ſtones; which was preſented, in 1632, by the city of Augſburgh to Guſtavus Adolphus. It contains, among other pieces of curioſity, a large agate, two ſpans long, and one and an half broad. On one part of the ſtone is painted the Day of Judgment; and on another the Paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea. The figures are in a very good ſtyle of colouring, ſimilar to that uſed by the German painters immediate ſucceſſors of Albert Durer. The artiſt has very

ingeniouſly expreſſed the clouds and the water by the natural tints and ſhades of the ſtone; and indeed they repreſent, with as much boldneſs and nature as the fineſt painting could effect, the wall of water ſuſpended for a paſſage to the Iſraelites, and the waves rolling back with fury upon Pharoah and his hoſt. The artiſt, whoſe name was John King, has drawn his own portrait lying at the feet of the pope among the bleſt in heaven.

I hold myſelf greatly indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Eric Michael Fant, ſub-librarian, who kindly accompanied me to the library, and favoured me in the readieſt manner with every poſſible information. He was ſo obliging as to preſent me with ſeveral tracts upon the Icelandic, Lapland, and other Northern languages, Celſius's account of the library of Upſala, and other rare diſſertations; from which I have drawn conſiderable intelligence.

I waited, with a letter of recommendation, upon Mr. Bergman, profeſſor of chemiſtry in the univerſity; whoſe fame ſtands high among the learned of all nations; and whoſe reputation is deſervedly eſtabliſhed for his uſeful and accurate reſearches, as well in his own laboratory, as in every branch of natural hiſtory. The learned profeſſor received me with

great politeneſs and cordiality, and ſhewed me his cabinet, which is particularly rich in Swediſh minerals. He obligingly communicated to me much intelligence, in a very long and intereſting converſation which I had the pleaſure of holding with him; and which made me regret, that, my ſtay in Upſala being ſo ſhort, I could not derive any further information from a perſon of ſuch general and accurate knowledge. Upon my return to the inn, I immediately noted down the principal heads of the diſcourſe; the ſubſtance whereof I ſhall here tranſcribe from my journal.

In anſwer to my inquiries concerning the ſtate of the Swediſh mines; he informed me, that there were as well gold and ſilver, as copper and iron mines: the produce of the firſt, though very inconſiderable, is remarkable for yielding the native gold in a calcareous matrix. Thoſe of ſilver are ſomewhat more profitable; but the quantity of ore is greatly diminiſhed within theſe late years. The copper mines of Fahlun are extremely rich; but I could not remember the general ſtate of their produce, and the average proportion of metal drawn from a hundred weight of ore. With reſpect to the iron mines, the moſt important of all the native productions of Sweden, thoſe of Danemora are the fineſt for the quality

quality of the metal, although they are not ſo rich as ſeveral in Lapland; the latter ſometimes producing even 90 pounds of pure iron in an hundred weight of ore. The pooreſt of Danemora yield 30 pounds, and the richeſt from 60 to 70, in an hundred. The iron of this celebrated mine is in the higheſt eſtimation, and is chiefly exported to England for the ſteel manufactures. The matrix of this ore is a calcareous earth, a very remarkable circumſtance; and which, in conjunction with other cauſes not yet diſcovered, is perhaps one occaſion of the ſuperior quality of its metal. He added, that in general the iron mines of Sweden are found to run in veins; a few in Lapland excepted, which do not branch out in longitudinal directions, but conſiſt of immenſe maſſes of ore *. I next inquired concerning the quantity of granite rock, which I had obſerved in different parts of Sweden, as

* To theſe may be added the noted mountain Taberg in Smaland, which is one maſs of rich iron ore. It is above 400 feet high, and three Engliſh miles in circumference. A deſcription of this mountain, and a view of it, ſent by Dr. Aſcanius to the late Mr. Peter Collinſon, was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. XLIX. There is alſo an account of this inſulated maſs of ore in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, Vol. XXI. for the year 1760, communicated by M. Tilas. This mine has been worked for 200 years paſt.

well lying in detached maſſes, as forming ridges of mountains: to which the profeſſor made anſwer, that granite is the baſis of the country, particularly of the Northern parts; that hills of gravel and ſand, and calcareous ſtone, containing petrefactions of ſhells, are indeed not unfrequent, but generally repoſe upon granite; that the granite is both red and grey; that the former more readily crumbles and decompoſes by the lapſe of time; and that almoſt all the old Runic monuments exiſting in the country are of the grey ſpecies, which is by far the moſt durable *.

The Royal ſociety at Upſala is the oldeſt literary academy of that kind in the North. It took its riſe in the year 1720, upon the following occaſion. Benzelius †, librarian to the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, undertook, in conjunction with ſome other learned men, a review, as well of

* For ſome account of profeſſor Bergman's works, ſee Chapter VIII. of this book.

† Eric Benzelius was born at Upſala in 1673, where he began and completed his ſtudies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upſala in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the univerſity, an office which he held for 22 years. In 1724 he was nominated profeſſor of divinity; afterwards ſucceſſively created biſhop of Gotheborg, Lindkioping, and archbiſhop of Upſala. He died in 1743, aged 70. Celſii Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 149.

all

all books publiſhed in Sweden, or by Swedes abroad, as of thoſe works printed in foreign countries, which had any relation to this kingdom. As this publication contained alſo, beſide the mere reviews, a few original acts, it was called *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*; and was carried on upon this plan for ten years. At the end of that period, namely, in 1730, the tranſactions were no longer confined to a review of books, but conſiſted entirely of original acts and diſſertations; and the ſociety, now patronized by the king, ſtyled itſelf, in the dedication to his majeſty, *Societas Regia*; and its tranſactions, which came out annually, *Acta Literaria et Sientiarum Sueciæ*. In 1740, it aſſumed the title of *Societas Regia Literaria et Scientiarum Upſalienſis*, adopting the laſt expreſſion inſtead of *Sueciæ*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, inſtituted in 1739, which was denominated *Academia Regia Sueciæ*. The ſociety continued its publications upon the ſame plan until 1750, when it ceaſed; but was again revived in 1773, at which period its tranſactions were iſſued under the title of *Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upſalienſis*. Theſe acts make their appearance in in ſeparate parts, which are not put forth regularly every year, but only occaſionally, as

there are a ſufficient number of diſſertations, and as the ſociety, which has no fund, can afford the expence of printing. They are all written in the Latin tongue, and printed in quarto. The original numbers, namely, thoſe iſſued from 1720 to 1750, are comprized in ſix volumes. The new acts already publiſhed are in four parts: the firſt appeared in 1773; and the laſt in 1783. Many of theſe diſſertations have conſiderable merit; they treat of a great variety of ſubjects, as well relative to the hiſtory, antiquities, and languages of the North, as to natural hiſtory. They contain ſeveral papers written by Linnæus and Bergman.

Before I quitted Upſala, I made an excurſion to the place where the kings of Sweden were antiently elected: it lies about ſeven miles from the town, in the middle of a plain called Mora; and is ſtill marked by the remains of ſeveral mutilated ſtones, one whereof is known in Swediſh hiſtory by the appellation of *Moraſteen*, or the Stone of Mora; upon which the ſovereigns were enthroned with all due ſolemnity, and received the homage of their ſubjects. Their name and the date of the year when this ceremony was performed was at the ſame time inſcribed upon another ſtone, as a public memorial of their election.

This

This appears from a very curious certificate * made by a public notary; who, in 1430, at

* "In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a Nativitate ejuſ-
"dem MCDXXX, III Die Menſis Maii, hora veſpera-
"rum vel quaſi Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris
"ac Domini D. Eugenii Papæ IV. Anno IV. in nova domo
"Capitulari ante Valvas Eccleſiæ Upſalenſis ſita, in mei no-
"tarii publici teſtiumque ſubſcriptorum præſentia perſonaliter
"conſtitutus venerabilis D. Petrus, archiepiſcopus eccleſiæ
"Upſalenſis, nomine & ex parte capituli dictæ eccleſiæ
"Upſal ibidem tunc congregati me notarium ſubſcriptum
"requiſivit, ut aſſumptis iiſdem teſtibus accederem ad la-
"pidem vulgariter dictum Moreſteen, in quo & ſuper
"quem Reges Sueciæ de novo electi ſtatim poſt eorum
"electionem conſueverunt ab antiquiſſimis temporibus
"ſublimari & inthroniſari, inveſtigaturus ibidem annum
"electionis in Regem Sueciæ illuſtriſſimi principis domini
"Erici Regis moderni, ego memoratus notarius infra ſcrip-
"tus una cum teſtibus ſubſcriptis ſtatim ad dictum lapidem
"Moraſteen extra civitatem Upſalenſem ad unum milliare
"in plano campo ſitum acceſſi et honorabilem virum D. Jo-
"hannem Matthiæ, curatum eccleſiæ Danmark, quæ dicto
"lapidi vicina eſt eccleſia in teſtem aſſumpſi, et ſculpturam
"cujuſdam lapidis dicto antiquo lapidi Moraſteen ſuperim-
"poſiti diligenter inſpexi et per teſtes infra ſcriptos inſpici
"feci ſic præcisè, ut ſequitur, in eodem lapide inſculptum
"inveni. Anno Domini MCCCXCVI. electus eſt in
"Regem Sueciæ in hoc loco illuſtris Rex Dominus Ericus
"calendarum Auguſti (locus autem pro numero calen-
"darum vacuus erat) ſuper quibus omnibus et ſingulis præ-
"fatus Petrus archiepiſcopus nomine, quo ſupra, me nota-
"rium publicum requiſivit ut unum vel plura, publicum vel
"publica ſuper præmiſſis conficerem inſtrumentum vel
"inſtrumenta." Holberg, Vol. I. p. 500.

the requeſt of the archbiſhop of Upſala, examined the *Moraſteen*, to aſcertain the year in which Eric of Pomerania was raiſed to the throne. When I viſited the ſpot, I obſerved ten ſtones, the largeſt whereof was only ſix ſpans long, two broad, and two thick; and which tradition reports to be the *Moraſteen*. The others are exceedingly ſmall. I could trace upon ſeveral the figures of a croſs and globe coarſely carved; and upon one, in particular, which was very antient, the three crowns, the arms of Sweden. I diſcovered a few traces of inſcriptions, ſeemingly in Gothic characters; but ſo imperfect, that I did not attempt to * decypher them. A few years ago theſe remains of Swediſh antiquity were covered only with a wooden ſhed; but they are now preſerved in a brick building, conſtructed at his preſent majeſty's expence in honour of his royal anceſtors. An inſcription in Swediſh upon the inſide walls enumerates the names of the ſeveral kings, who were enthroned upon this ſpot. They are king Euge, 1060, with whom this cuſtom is ſaid to have

* Some perſons have given an explanation of theſe inſcriptions, ſuch as the before-mentioned one of Eric; alſo A. D. 1448. d. 28. Junii electus eſt nobilis Vir. D; us: Carolus Canuti, Miles natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ. Dahlin, Vol. I. 167.

taken

taken its riſe; king Magnus Ladulas, D. 1. 1276; Magnus Smek, D. 11, 1319; Eric XIII. 1396; Chriſtopher, 1441; Charles VIII. 1448; Chriſtian I. 1457; Steno Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, 1512.

Olaus Magnus relates, that the *Moraſteen* was placed in the midſt of twelve other ſtones in a circle. Camden thus deſcribes a ſimilar monument near the village of Saint Buriens, in Cornwall. "Not far from hence, in a place "called Biſcaw-woune, are nineteen ſtones ſet "in a circle, about twelve foot diſtant one "from another; and in the centre there ſtands "one much larger than any of the reſt. One "may probably conjecture this to have been "ſome trophy of the Romans under the later "emperors; or of Athelſtan, the Saxon, after "he had ſubdued Cornwall*." Olaus Wormius, however, more ingeniouſly conjectures, from the ſimilarity of this monument to the *Moraſteen*, and others in Sweden and Denmark, that it was the place where the antient Anglo-Saxon kings were elected and enthroned †.

* Britannia, edit 1695, p. 6.
† Monumenta Danica, p. 90.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Botanical garden of Upſala.—*Biographical memoirs of* Linnæus.

THE botanical garden of Upſala, to which place I had the pleaſure of being accompanied by the ſon of Linnæus, is ſmall, but laid out with judgment; and the collection of plants, particularly exotics, is numerous. I could not avoid regarding with enthuſiaſm this ſpot of ground, rendered celebrated by the reſidence of Linnæus; of whom it may be ſaid, without exaggeration, that, in the natural hiſtory of the globe, he left nothing unexplored.

I flatter myſelf, that many of the following authentic anecdotes of this great naturaliſt are entirely new to the Engliſh reader *.

Carl

* This account of Linnæus is chiefly extracted from a German tranſlation of his Commemoration-Speech, delivered on the 5th of December, 1778, by Dr. Bæck, in the king's preſence, before the Royal Academy of Sciences; and from anecdotes of his life by Fabricius. See Gedæchnitzrede Auf den Carl von Linnè, &c. von A. Bæck; and Einige naehere Umſtande aus dem Leben des

Carl Von Linnè, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldeſt ſon of Nils Linnæus, a Swediſh divine, was born on the 24th of May 1707, at Raſhult, in the province of Smoland. His inclination for the ſtudies in which he afterwards made ſo wonderful a progreſs, commenced at a very early period of his life; and took its riſe from the following circumſtance: His father uſed to amuſe himſelf in the garden of his parſonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was ſoon led to take a ſhare in this entertainment; and, before he was ſcarcely able to walk, expreſſed extreme ſatisfaction when he was permitted to accompany him into the garden. As his ſtrength increaſed, he delighted in digging and planting; and afterwards obtained for his own uſe a ſmall portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He ſoon learnt

des Ritters von Linnè; Von Johan Chriſtian Fabricius, in the Deutches Muſeum, for May and July 1780. Fabricius, the author of this account, was the diſciple of Linnæus: he is now profeſſor of œconomy and natural hiſtory in the univerſity of Kiel; and may be juſtly called the firſt entomologiſt in Europe. He has diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among other publications, by the following works: Reiſe nach Norwegen.—Syſtema Entomologiæ.—Genera Inſectorum.—Philoſophiæ Entomologica.—Species Inſectorum.

to

to diſtinguiſh the different flowers; and, before he had attained the tenth year of his age, made ſmall excurſions in the neighbourhood of Raſhult; and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being ſent, in 1717, to ſchool at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permiſſion of continuing his excurſions, he paſſed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himſelf acquainted with their names and qualities. He was ſo abſorbed in this favourite purſuit as totally to diſregard his other ſtudies; and made ſuch an inconſiderable progreſs, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the *gymnaſium* in the ſame town, his new maſter repeatedly complained of his idleneſs. Urged by theſe remonſtrances, his father conceived his ſon to have no taſte for literature; and propoſed to bind him apprentice to a ſhoemaker *: and this deſtination would have taken place; if a neighbouring phyſician, whoſe name was Rothman †, ſtruck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply ſkilled in a ſcience, to which he ſeemed naturally inclined. This ſagacious obſerver,

* Fabricius. † Bæck.

having

having prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his ſon's education, took the boy into his houſe; ſupplied him with botanical books; and inſtructed him in the firſt rudiments of phyſic, in which he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs. When his father had aſſented to this advice, he had deſigned him for the church *; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree that he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of botany and phyſic.

In 1727 he was ſent to the univerſity of Lund; where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the firſt ſyſtematic principles of natural hiſtory. Being lodged in that profeſſor's houſe, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of foſſils, ſhells, birds, and plants. At this place he began to form an *herbarium*, collecting plants from all quarters, making repeated obſervations upon them, and comparing them with the de-

* His mother was at firſt ſo chagrined that her eldeſt ſon declined entering into orders, that ſhe would not even permit her ſecond ſon to ſet his foot in the garden. This brother, whoſe name is Samuel, is ſtill living: he is a clergyman in the province of Smoland, and, on account of his ſkill in the management of bees, is known by the name of Bi-Kung, or the Bee-King.

ſcriptions

ſcriptions of Tournefort *, whoſe works he had received as a preſent from Dr. Rothman †. During his reſidence at Lund, he proſecuted his ſtudies with ſuch unremitted attention; that he frequently continued them during great part of the night, in order to enjoy the uſe of ſeveral books which he ſecretly obtained from the profeſſor's library. Once in particular, Stobæus ſuſpecting that he had company at a very late hour, ſtole unobſerved into his apartment; and was aſtoniſhed at finding him employed in conſulting the works of thoſe great botaniſts, Cæſalpinus, Bauhin, and Tournefort. Pleaſed with this inſtance of his indefatigable zeal for ſcience, the profeſſor permitted him to have acceſs to his library and collections; and readily aſſiſted him with advice and information.

Linnæus did not confine himſelf to botany; but turned alſo his attention to the inferior orders of the animal kingdom: a branch of knowledge in which he eminently excelled; and which he was led to proſecute from a circumſtance, that would have damped the ardour of a leſs zealous inquirer. In endea-

* Inſtitutiones rei herbariæ.

† Bæck.

vouring

vouring to form a collection of insects, he was stung by the *Furia Infernalis** in so terrible a manner, that his life was endangered †. This event incited his researches

* The effects of the *Furia Infernalis* are thus described by Dr. Pulteney, from a Dissertation *De Miraculis Insectorum*, in the third volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*. "In Finland, Bothnia, and the northern provinces of Swe- "den, it was not unfrequently that people were seized "with a pungent pain, confined to a point, in the hand, "or other exposed part of the body, which presently "encreased to a most excruciating degree, and hath "sometimes been suddenly fatal. This disorder was "more particularly observed in Finland, especially about "boggy and marshy places, and always in autumn. At "length it was discovered, that this pain instantly suc- "ceeded somewhat that dropped out of the air, and in a "moment penetrated and buried itself in the flesh. The "Finlanders had tried variety of applications to no pur- "pose, until at length a poultice of curds, or cheese, was "found the most effectual in easing the pain; and the "event confirmed, that the insect was allured by this ap- "plication to leave the flesh; as on its removal, this "worm, no longer than the sixth of an inch, was found in "it, and thus the cause of this painful disease explained. "Linnæus himself once suffered from this animal the "effect here spoken of: but we owe the complete history "of it and its place in the System, to Dr. Solander, who "gave it in to the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsal. "(Nov. Ac. Vol. I.) This worm stands in the System "under the name of *Furia Infernalis*, p. 1325; but by "what means this creature is raised into the air, is as yet "unknown." General View of the Writings of Lin- "næus, p. 259.

† Bæck.

to diſcover the nature and qualities of that venomous worm; which led him to develope and explain thoſe numerous tribes of inſects * and worms, that had been but imperfectly deſcribed by preceding naturaliſts; and afterwards to throw new light upon the whole animal kingdom.

In 1728 he was removed to the univerſity of Upſala; where his narrow circumſtances involved him at firſt in diſtreſſes unfriendly to the purſuits of ſcience, but which did not, however, obſtruct his uſual exertions. His poverty is ſaid to have been ſo great, that he frequently wanted the common neceſſaries of life; and was even accuſtomed to wear the caſt-off ſhoes of his fellow-ſtudents, which he mended with paſteboard for his own

* "No part of the ſyſtem of nature," writes Dr. Pulteney, "has undergone a greater change than this claſs; "neither does our author ſtand more unrivalled, than in "the excellent arrangement he has given to this branch "of natural hiſtory; which, before his time, was nearly "without method." p. 101.

And again, "The knowledge of inſects may be ſaid to "be the laſt branch of natural hiſtory that raiſed its head; "notwithſtanding which, it has of late attained a high de"gree of perfection: nor can it be too much to attribute "this to the excellent arrangement of Linnæus, under "whoſe auſpices it has extended itſelf beyond all other "parts of zoology." p. 351.

uſe.

uſe †. From this ſtate of penury, when he had no proſpect of the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance either from his family or friends, he was ſuddenly relieved by the learned Olaus Celſius, profeſſor of divinity, and reſtorer of natural hiſtory in Sweden; whoſe patronage he caſually acquired in the following manner: Celſius, having frequently noticed him making obſervations in the botanical garden, was aſtoniſhed at his proficiency in botany, the ſmalleſt knowledge of which was at that time eſteemed a rare qualification in Sweden; and being informed of his diſtreſſed ſituation, immediately received him into his houſe; admitted him to his table; gave him acceſs to his library; and engaged his aſſiſtance in completing his *Hierobotanicon*, a work aſcertaining the plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The favours of this reſpectable patron, conferred in ſuch extreme neceſſity, he always remembered and acknowledged with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reverence and gratitude.

Soon afterwards he attracted the notice; and obtained the patronage, of Olaus Rudbeck, profeſſor of phyſic and botany, on the following occaſion: An academical diſſerta-

* Fabricius.

tion, *De Nuptiis Arborum* *, being read in the public ſchools, Linnæus wrote upon it ſome obſervations; wherein he introduced ſeveral remarks upon the generation of plants, to which he had particularly turned his attention. Theſe obſervations fell into the hands of Olaus Rudbeck, who was ſo ſtruck with their ſagacity and juſtneſs, as immediately to commence an acquaintance with the author: his abilities and knowledge being developed upon a nearer intimacy, the profeſſor appointed him tutor to his ſons; in ſome meaſure directed his ſtudies; and thought him ſufficiently qualified, though in the 23d year of his age, to read occaſional lectures in the botanical garden, by which means he obtained a ſmall income. At this period Linnæus paſſed his days in herboriſing and giving lectures; and employed great part of the night in laying the foundation of the new ſyſtem, which he had already planned. About this period he began to arrange his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, his *claſſes*, and *genera plantarum*; from whence we may collect how early he had fixed the

* The theſis is ſtyled Γαμος φυλων, ſive de Nuptiis Arborum de quibus Diſſertationem Philologico-criticam publico bonorum examini ſubmittit Petrus Ugla, 23 Dec. 1729.

principles

principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to ſuch perfection.

His knowledge was conſiderably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which, at the recommendation of Rudbeck and Celſius, he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upſala, in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of that unknown region: but as he received only a gratuity of about £.8 towards defraying his expences, he was obliged to travel almoſt the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and ſpirit. He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May 1732; ſtayed ſome time at the mines of Fahlun; viſited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardſhips; eſcaped imminent perils; and returned to Upſala in the month of October of the following year, after having traverſed near 4000 miles *. During his tour he tranſmitted to the Royal Society of Sciences a *Florula Lapponica*, which was printed in their acts, and was his firſt publication: in this catalogue of Lapland plants, he diſpoſed them according to the ſyſtem afterwards called the Sexual.

Soon after his return he continued his lectures upon botany; and delivered others alſo

* Bæck.

upon mineralogy and the art of aſſaying metals; which were the firſt on that ſubject ever given at Upſala; and from which he acquired great applauſe. But being not entitled from his ſtanding in the univerſity to read lectures, a formal complaint was lodged againſt him by profeſſor Roſen, phyſician to the king; and he had the mortification to receive an expreſs prohibition from the academical conſiſtory. Linnæus, who began to receive a comfortable ſubſiſtence from theſe lectures, and ſaw no immediate means of maintaining himſelf, was ſo exaſperated at this proceeding; that he drew his ſword upon the profeſſor; and might have proceeded to violence if he had not been prevented. In conſequence of this outrage, he would undoubtedly have been expelled from the univerſity; if his patron, Olaus Celſius, had not compromiſed the affair *.

In this juncture he was appointed to accompany the ſons of Baron Reuterholm into Dalecarlia and Norway. During this tour he improved his knowledge of mineralogy, by viſiting various mines and forges; and particularly at Fahlun, where he read lectures upon foſſils and the art of aſſaying, which

† Fabricius,

were

were much frequented: at the ſame time he obtained the friendſhip of Dr. Morœus, the phyſician of the place, to whoſe daughter he betrothed himſelf. It being the cuſtom at that time to take a degree in ſome foreign univerſity, and the ſituation of Linnæus not being adequate to ſuch an expence; the young lady preſented him with an hundred ducats = about £. 50, to take his doctor's degree at Harderwick in Guelderland *. With this view he commenced his journey in 1735; and proceeded to Copenhagen and Hamburgh, where he gave a proof of his accurate knowledge in natural hiſtory, by diſcovering, that a celebrated ſnake with ſeven heads, belonging to the burgomaſter Spreckelſen, and which had been long eſteemed a great wonder, was a mere impoſition. Upon the firſt inſpection, our naturaliſt perceived that the ſix heads, notwithſtanding the art with which they were joined together, were jaws of weaſels covered with the ſkin of ſnakes †.

Linnæus, to whom 100 ducats appeared an immenſe ſum, thought his riches inexhauſtible; and, remaining for a conſiderable

* Fabricius.

† The reader will find a plate of this factitious monſter in Seba's Muſeum, Vol. I. Table 102.

time at Hamburgh, where he was pleaſed with his ſituation, he found himſelf upon his arrival in Holland, reduced to extreme neceſſity, and unable to diſburſe the expence of a doctor's degree: he therefore applied by letter to Boerhaave; acquainting him that he was a perſon who had devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of botany, but who laboured under the moſt ſevere diſtreſſes. Boerhaave, the friend and protector of ſcience, received Linnæus in his garden: among other topics of converſation, he pointed out the *Cratægus Aria*; and demanded, whether he had ever obſerved that plant? adding, that it had not yet been deſcribed by any writer. Linnæus anſwered, that it was a native of Sweden, and deſcribed by Vaillant. Boerhaave ſupported the contrary; and, convinced of the juſtneſs of his aſſertion, becauſe he had himſelf ſuperintended the publication of Vaillant's work, immediately brought the book to Linnæus; who, without heſitation, referred to the deſcription, which accurately correſponded with the plant in queſtion *. From this ſpecimen of his accurate knowledge in botany, Boerhaave became his patron, and recom-

* Fabricius.

mended

mended him to the protection of Mr. Clifford; by whom he was appointed ſuperintendent of a botanical garden *, lately formed at a very extraordinary expence. In this new ſituation, highly adapted to his circumſtances and genius, he received a ſalary of a † ducat per day; had the inſpection of a garden rich in the choiceſt plants; and was not confined to any expence for obtaining every ſpecies of exotics, and procuring the works of the moſt eminent botanical authors. In addition alſo to theſe favourable opportunities of increaſing his knowledge, he travelled, at the charge of Mr. Clifford, into England and France. During only two years reſidence with Mr. Clifford, he gave to the public many works ‡ in various branches of natural hiſtory;

* At Hartcamp, about three miles from Harlem.

† About 9*s.* 6*d.*

‡ Syſtema Naturæ, comprized, as Dr. Pulteney ſays, in twelve pages, and is the outlines of the ſucceeding editions—Fundamenta Botanica—Bibliotheca Botanica—Muſa Cliffortiana—Genera Plantarum—Viridarium Cliffortianum—Methodus Sexualis—Flora Lapponica—Critica Botanica—Hortus Cliffortianus—Artedi Ichtyologia—Claſſes Plantarum. "We cannot ſufficiently," ſays Dr. Bæck, with juſtneſs, "wonder how, within ſo ſhort a ſpace "as two years, during which period hs was ſo conſtantly "occupied in arranging the plants of Cliffort's Garden "according to his ſyſtem, and was ſo continually interrupted

tory; which raiſed his reputation very high in Europe; and in which he diſcovered an amazing ſagacity in methodizing and claſſing, with the niceſt diſcrimination, the various productions in the three kingdoms of nature. In theſe publications he ventured, young and unknown as he was, to commit his new ſyſtem to the world; which, undefended by its author, and ſupported only by its intrinſic merit, conquered all oppoſition from men of the firſt abilities and decided character *.

" rupted by foreign viſitors, Linnæus could alſo find time " to put forth ſo many writings, each of which would have " been ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed the reputation of a " man of learning; and theſe writings, founded upon his " own diſcoveries, and tending to give a new form to a " whole ſcience. The materials of ſome, indeed, had been " collected and digeſted in Sweden; but it is a fact ſcarcely " credible, that the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, a work which " contains ſo much knowledge, ſhould have been written " and printed in leſs than nine months." For an account " of theſe various publications ſee Pulteney, p. 16—30.

* Among others the celebrated Dillenius, though he candidly acknowledged the merits of the Linnæan ſyſtem, confeſſed that he was too far advanced in life to ſtudy a new arrangement. The ſame reaſons may account for the coolneſs of reception he met with from Sir Hans Sloane, notwithſtanding the following letter of recommendation written by Boerhaave: " *Linnæus, qui has tibi dabit li-* " *teras, eſt unice dignus te videre, unice dignus a te videri, qui* " *vos videbit ſimul, videbit hominum par, cui ſimile vix dabit* " *orbis.*" See Pulteney, p. 12.

His reſidence in Holland, which had hitherto contributed in ſo eſſential a manner to his riſe and improvement, was at length embittered by a very dangerous diſorder that terminated in an ague. He became ſuddenly penſive, diſcontented, expreſſed an inſurmountable deſire to fulfil his matrimonial engagements; and was impatient to ſhow himſelf in Sweden, where he flattered himſelf with the proſpect of a moſt honourable reception.

Having declined many offers of promotion in Holland, he quitted that country in the ſpring of 1738; and, after paſſing a ſhort time at Paris, arrived at Stockholm in the month of September; where he ſettled as a phyſician, and married in the following year the lady to whom he had betrothed himſelf at Fahlun.

Linnæus had returned to his native country full of the moſt ſanguine expectations that his merit would be immediately recognized; but, to uſe his biographer's * expreſſions, "he was aſtoniſhed to find that he "was conſidered more as a ſtranger among "his countrymen than among foreigners." He was ſo mortified at this diſappointment, and the ſmall degree of practice which he

* Bæck.

at

at firſt obtained; that he had once reſolved to accept the offers of his patrons in Holland; or to ſettle at Gottingen, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the celebrated Haller. But although his acknowledged merit, and uncommon reputation, ſoon ſecured to him the patronage of ſeveral illuſtrious perſonages; yet he paid the uſual tax of genius, by experiencing a conſiderable degree of envy and oppoſition; and though by theſe means he was at firſt involved in ſome difficulties, only a ſhort period elapſed before he acquired an extenſive practice. His moſt conſiderable and zealous patron was count Teſſin, the firſt miniſter, whoſe collection he afterwards deſcribed in his *Muſeum Teſſinianum*.

By the intereſt of that nobleman he obtained, in the beginning of 1739, the office of phyſician to the fleet; and a ſtipend from the ſtates for reading lectures in mineralogy upon the collection of foſſils belonging to the board of mines *. Count Teſſin alſo recommended him in ſuch ſtrong terms to their Swediſh majeſties, that they honoured him with their patronage. Under his direction the king formed a collection of quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, and ſerpents, at Ulricſdal; and

* Bæck.

the

the queen of insects and shells at Drottningsholm; both of which have been accurately described by Linnæus himself. During his residence at Stockholm, he assisted, as I have before observed, in founding a literary society, which was afterwards called the Royal Academy of Sciences; and of which he was appointed the first president.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmest ambition, the professorship of botany in the university of Upsala. Upon the death of Roberg, professor of practical medicine and anatomy, Linnæus was appointed to fill his chair; which he changed, in 1742, with professor Rosen, for that of botany: he was at the same time appointed to superintend the physic-garden; and undertook to read lectures in botany, natural history, dietetics, on the knowledge of disorders, and the *materia medica*. From this period he passed the remaining part of his life almost uniformly at Upsala.

He turned his principal attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden; which, at the time of his appointment to the professorship, scarcely contained 40 exotics; but produced, in 1748, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from the severity of the climate, 1100 species, exclusive

cluſive of indigenous plants and varieties. His own collection of natural hiſtory was rich only in plants; a circumſtance chiefly owing to the number of quadrupeds, ſhells, and inſects, which he preſented to their majeſties for their cabinets at Ulricſdal and Drottningſholm. His herbarium was highly valuable, from the number and arrangement of the ſpecimens.

By his incomparable lectures he raiſed the univerſity to the higheſt repute; and induced many foreigners to reſort to Upſala. He was always attended by a numerous audience; and his great art was not only in ſatisfying the curioſity, but in gaining the affection and eſteem of the ſtudents. His lectures were diſtinguiſhed by the conciſeneſs and preciſion ſo conſpicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a ſpirit and animation which irreſiſtibly caught the attention of his hearers: for he ſpoke with a perſuaſion which was inſpired by his deep inſight, his juſt conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature *. He diffuſed a ſudden ſpirit

* Bæck and Fabricius. Nothing can mark the philoſopher's paſſion for natural hiſtory more than theſe expreſſions in a letter to Mr. Pennant on the following occaſion. Having received the firſt notice of the Anomia retuſa (Syſt. Nat. 1151. N° 225.) being found in a recent

rit of inquiry; and kindled among his ſtudents a new zeal for the ſtudy of natural

cent ſtate, from Mr. Pennant, who obſerved one adhering to a ſea-plant drawn out of the Norwegian ſeas, he wrote to him, "Pro gaudio exultans quod detexeras concham anomiam a nullo mortalium antea viſam, quâque facem accenderas ſcientia naturali luculentiſſimam in deperditis huc uſque concharum generibus. De hâc conchâ die noctuque cogito; de eo loquor hodiè; noctu de eo ſomnio." Dec. 3, 1756.

In another letter to our Engliſh zoologiſt he thus acknowledges a preſent of his Synopſis of Quadrupeds, and candidly allows the merit of the work, although it differed in ſome reſpect from his own method of claſſing animals. "Diu audivi D. Troill ſecum adduxiſſe dona tua, quæ avidiſſime exſpectavi. Redux tandem pridie ad nos acceſſit, et mihi obtulit Synopſin tuam *of Quadrupeds* et Zoologiam Indicam. Pro ſingulis grates reddo quas unquam poſſim calidiſſimas. Synopſin tuam legam et relegam millies. Multa in eo occurrunt lectu mihi jucundiſſima, et maxime utilia quæ in ſuccum et ſanguinem.———Perlecto hoc opere multa a te quæram nec unquam me ingratum ſentias.—Non de methodo diſputabo; mihi perinde erit utrum naturæ cultor ſit Lutheranus, Calvinianus, Judaicus, aut Mahometanus, unice notitiam ſpecierum quæram. O utinam viderem reliqua tua opera imprimis de avibus, quam multa inde addiſcerem quæ etiamnum me fugiunt.—Tua *Indian Zoology* perpulchra erat; pulcherrimæ figuræ rariſſimarum certe avium; deſcriptiones etiam exactiſſimæ.—Vale plura proxime. Upſaliæ, 1773, d. 2. Maii."

The public are now under freſh obligations to Mr. Pennant, for his long expected work, The Arctic Zoology.

hiſtory.

hiſtory. During the firſt years of his reſidence at Upſala, he gave public herboriſing lectures in ſpring and ſummer. In theſe botanical excurſions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French-horns; and ſallied out at the head of 200 or 300 ſtudents, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or inſect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the ſtudents; the ſtragglers were called together by the ſound of muſic, and crowding round their maſter liſtened in reſpectful ſilence while he offered his obſervations *.

His reputation was now ſo widely ſpread in foreign countries; that he received the moſt flattering invitations to Peterſburgh, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid; where he was offered by the king of Spain a very conſiderable ſtipend, † the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the proſpect even of the moſt ſplendid advantages could not ſeduce him from his native country;

* I am indebted to Sir John Cullum for this anecdote, who received it from Dr. Solander; and it has been ſince confirmed to me by Mr. Dryander, a Swediſh gentleman, who frequently attended theſe botanical excurſions.

† A penſion of 2000 piſtoles. Pulteney, p. 35.

where he had acquired the eſteem of his ſovereign, and the general reſpect of his countrymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His ſervices in promoting every branch of natural hiſtory were acknowledged in the fulleſt manner; and every aſſiſtance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuſe his favourite ſcience. A new houſe was raiſed for him, at the public expence, cloſe to the phyſic-garden: he was occaſionally deputed by the ſtates to make excurſions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement of natural hiſtory. For this purpoſe, he, at different times, viſited the Iſlands of Gothland and Oeland, the provinces of Skone and Weſt Gothland; and communicated to the public, in his native language, the Itineraries of his Travels, which are ſaid to be replete with curious and philoſophical obſervations; the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural hiſtory to œconomical uſes. Many of his ſcholars * were alſo,

* Kalm journeyed to North America; Haſſelquiſt to Smyrna, Egypt, and Paleſtine; Ternſtroem, Toren, and Oſbeck, to China; Rolander to Surinam; Loefling to Spain and North America; Forſkal to Arabia; Thun-

alſo, under his auſpices, diſpatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular ſocieties; and they all ſeem to have caught from their beloved maſter a ſpirit of emulation and zeal for ſcience: the communications which he received from their unremitted labours furniſhed him with ſuch information as enabled his comprehenſive mind to appropriate, as it were, their diſcoveries, and to "exemplify in a "more perfect and detailed manner his ſyſ-"tem of nature *." Thus his genius may be ſaid to have diffuſed itſelf through the moſt diſtant regions of the globe; and his ſpirit ſtill continues to animate the zealous diſciples of the Linnæan ſchool.

The following circumſtances, relative to his deceaſe, are related by his Swediſh biographer †. In May 1774, while he was reading lectures in the botanical garden, he was ſeized with an apoplectic ſtroke, that was followed by a debility which he himſelf pronounced the forerunner of death. His limbs were affected to ſuch a degree, that he could

berg to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Japan; Sparman to the Cape and South Seas; and above all; the much to be regretted Dr. Solander round the world.

* Pulteney, p. 34. † Bæck.

not

not be moved without extreme pain and difficulty. In autumn, however, he was ſomewhat recovered; which he, in the enthuſiaſm of ſcience, imputed to a preſent of ſeveral hundred rare plants, ſent to him by the king. Theſe plants, brought from Surinam by Dahlberg, a Swediſh officer, were ſo well preſerved in ſpirits, that their flowers, fruit, and leaves, were diſtinctly viſible. He found great amuſement and conſolation in arranging and publiſhing a ſhort deſcription of them, under the title of *Plantæ Surinamenſes*, which was his laſt performance. In June 1776, he was afflicted with a ſecond ſtroke of apoplexy, which reduced him to ſo weak a ſtate, that, to uſe his own expreſſions in his Journal, "Linnæus limps, can hardly move, ſpeaks "unintelligibly, and can ſcarcely write." In the ſame year a paralytic ſtroke deprived him of the uſe of his right ſide, and confined him wholly to his bed. His ſtrength gradually forſook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropſy, brought on a tranquil diſſolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the 71ſt year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upſala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and reſpect could inſpire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be ſtruck ex-

preſſive of the dejection of ſcience upon the deceaſe of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his aſhes: his majeſty alſo attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration ſpeech was delivered; and, as a ſtill higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a ſpeech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loſs which Sweden had ſuffered from his death *.

The moſt trifling anecdotes relative to the perſon and character of ſuch eminent men as Linnæus cannot fail of being particularly intereſting; and our curioſity in theſe reſpects will be highly gratified by the following detail of a † naturaliſt perſonally acquainted with him; who repreſents him chiefly in private and domeſtic ſcenes; which, though they place every character in the trueſt light, yet too often eſcape the notice of biographers.

"I had the good fortune of enjoying the "inſtructions, protection, and familiar ac- "quaintance of Linnæus, from 1762 to 1764. "No day paſſed in which I did not ſee him; "none in which I did not attend his lectures, "or converſe with him in the moſt friendly "manner. In ſummer I followed him into "the country, accompanied by two friends,

* Pulteney, p. 212. † Fabricius.

Kuhn

" Kuhn and Zoega, who were foreigners as " well as myſelf: in winter we took up our " abode oppoſite to his houſe at Upſala; " where he viſited us almoſt every day without " form, in his red night-gown and green cap " lined with fur, and with his pipe in his " hand. His converſation was lively and " agreeable: he would amuſe us with many " anecdotes relative to the naturaliſts both " native and foreign, whom he had formerly " known; he would frequently reſolve dif- " ficulties which occurred to us in the pro- " greſs of our ſtudies, and often favoured us " with occaſional inſtructions. During our " unreſtrained intercourſe, he would frequent- " ly burſt into loud fits of laughter; his " countenance would brighten with pleaſure; " and his mind would expand with a degree " of openneſs and freedom, which ſhowed " his natural inclination to ſociableneſs and " friendſhip. Not leſs joyous was our coun- " try life. We dwelled in a farm-houſe at a " ſmall diſtance from his habitation. Lin- " næus in ſummer generally roſe at four *;

* "In ſummer," ſays Dr. Bæck, "he uſually ſlept only " from 10 to 3; and in winter from 9 to 6. Whenever " he perceived himſelf fatigued with too much applica- " tion, he quitted his ſtudy, and relieved himſelf with ſo- " ciety."

" would frequently call upon us at ſix; and,
" having breakfaſted, would read lectures upon
" the *Ordines naturales plantarum* until ten.
" Then we attended him to the neighbour-
" ing rocks, where he had ſufficient employ-
" ment in deſcribing and detailing their dif-
" ferent productions till mid-day, the uſual
" hour of his dinner; after which we re-
" paired to his houſe, and paſſed the evening
" in his company. Every Sunday we receiv-
" ed a viſit from Linnæus and his whole fa-
" mily; on which occaſion we always pro-
" vided a peaſant who played upon a kind of
" violin, and danced in the barn with infinite
" ſatisfaction. In truth, though our ball was
" not very ſpendid; our ſociety not nume-
" rous; our muſic not ſuper-excellent; our
" minuets and Poliſh dances not diverſified;
" yet we amuſed ourſelves not a little. The
" old man, who generally ſat ſmoking his
" pipe with my friend Zoega, and looked
" on, would now and then ſtart up and join
" himſelf in a Poliſh dance, in which he far
" ſurpaſſed the youngeſt of the company.
" Thoſe days and hours will never be for-
" gotten by me, but will always be recollected
" with pleaſure.

" Linnæus was ſmall in ſtature, and ap-
" peared ſtill ſhorter from a habit of ſtooping.

" He

" He was thin, but well-made; and when I
" knew him, age had already begun to mark
" his forehead with wrinkles. His counte-
" nance was open; almoſt always ſerene; and
" his eyes were the moſt expreſſive I ever be-
" held: they were ſmall indeed, but lively and
" piercing beyond deſcription; I do not recol-
" lect their colour, but their glances would now
" and then penetrate and read my very ſoul.
" The engraving prefixed to the *Species Plan-*
" *tarum* is a very ſtriking reſemblance of him.
" His mind was noble; his underſtanding
" was quick and acute. His great pre-emi-
" nence conſiſted in the regular connection of
" his ideas; and all his words and actions
" were orderly and ſyſtematic. In his youth
" his memory was ſtrong, but began to fail
" at a very early period of his life. I per-
" ceived ſeveral inſtances of his not being
" able to remember the names of his neareſt
" acquaintance; and once in particular found
" him in great diſtreſs, having juſt written a
" letter to his father-in-law, whoſe name he
" had abſolutely forgotten. His heart was
" open to every impreſſion of joy; he loved
" pleaſantry, and was fond of ſociety; was an
" excellent companion; cheerful and agree-
" able in his converſation; of fanciful wit; and
" poſſeſſed a happy talent of introducing and

" applying appoſite anecdotes. His paſſions " were ſtrong and violent; he was haſty and " choleric, but ſoon appeaſed. His friend- " ſhips were warm and unalterable, and more " particularly to his favourite ſcholars; his " attachment was always founded upon a love " of ſcience; he was ſo fortunate as to ex- " perience few inſtances of ingratitude; and " it is well known with what zeal his diſciples " returned his friendſhip, and how frequently " they engaged in his defence.

" Though his love of fame was boundleſs, " and his motto, *Famam extendere factis*, the " true image of his ſoul; yet this ambition " had no other object than literary eminence; " and never degenerated into an offenſive and " unſocial pride. Nor was the rank, to which " he had been raiſed by the favour of his ſo- " vereign, any otherwiſe agreeable to him " than as a mark of his high reputation in " ſcience. In matters relative to botany he " could not eaſily brook any contradiction: " he thankfully, indeed, received and uſed the " annotations of his friends for the improve- " ment of his works; but he diſdained the " attacks of his opponents; and, by never " replying, conſigned them to that oblivion " in which they have long been buried. He " was himſelf liberal in his encomiums, and

" not

" not diſpleaſed with being admired, which " ſeems to have been his principal foible: his " love of praiſe, however, was founded on the " ſtrong perception of his own excellence; on " his acknowledged improvements of natural " hiſtory; and upon the conſciouſneſs of being " eſteemed the firſt ſyſtematic writer of the " age. Tournefort, as he often aſſured me, " he had looked up to from his youth as the " maſter whom he had propoſed to imitate; " and whom he ſoon ſurpaſſed in a very con- " ſiderable degree.

" His way of life was moderate and par- " ſimonious; and he has been accuſed of co- " vetouſneſs *. I cannot, however, but hold " him in ſome meaſure excuſed, if he placed " too high a value upon money, the want of " which he had ſo long and ſo ſeverely ex- " perienced. It may alſo be urged in his de- " fence; that the habits of extreme parſi- " mony, which he had contracted under the " moſt preſſing neceſſities, adhered to him af- " terwards; and could not be ſhaken off even

* It is a ſufficient refutation of the charge of avarice, that " though he was extremely ſparing in his own private " expences; yet he was liberal in entertaining his friends, " and in acts of charity; and that he always remitted to " poor ſtudents what was due to him for attending his lec- " tures." Bæck.

" in

" in times of affluence. I never, however, " perceived that his frugality degenerated in- " to ſordid avarice; and I can allege my own " example as an inſtance to the contrary. He " refuſed in ſo peremptory a manner to ac- " cept the acknowledgment due to him for " reading lectures to us during the whole " ſummer; that we were obliged (after hav- " ing in vain endeavoured to force it upon " him) to leave it ſecretly behind us."

To the honour of his country and the preſent age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his ſuperior genius by the unſolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the Polar-ſtar, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconſiderable emolument *; while his ſalary as profeſſor, his practice as a phyſician, and the preſents which he occaſionally received from his ſcholars, rendered him eaſy and independent. He purchaſed in the neighbourhood of Upſala two eſtates, at Hammarby and at Sæfja; at the former of which he built a villa; and at his deceaſe bequeathed an ample proviſion to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one

* A ducat, or about 9*s.* 6*d.* each ſheet. Fabricius.

ſon, Charles Linnæus, who ſucceeded him in the profeſſorſhip, and died on the firſt of November 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be claſſed amongſt thoſe of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, Euler, and other great philoſophers, who were friends to religion: he always teſtified in his converſations, writings, and actions, the higheſt reverence for the Supreme Being; and was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea of omnipreſence, that he wrote over the door of his library: *Innocui vivite, numen adeſt.*

The great merits of Linnæus, as a naturaliſt, are to be eſtimated from the rude ſtate in which he found all the branches of natural hiſtory, and the perfection to which he carried them; in drawing order from confuſion, and perſpicuity from darkneſs: his underſtanding, comprehenſive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almoſt infinite variety of objects; which the magnitude of the greateſt could not fatigue, nor the inſignificance of the ſmalleſt elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no ſmall volume to trace even the outlines of his ſyſtem, now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compaſs of natural hiſtory.

In

In theſe extenſive and various purſuits, we know not which to admire moſt; his intimate knowledge; his fertility of invention; his indefatigable induſtry; his ſcientific arrangement; or that wonderful exactneſs in diſcriminating, where the minuteſt ſhades of difference are ſcarcely perceptible.

The reader, who is deſirous of further intelligence concerning this great naturaliſt, will find his curioſity amply gratified from the peruſal of Dr. Pulteney's "General View "of the Writings of Linnæus." In that excellent publication the ingenious author has detailed a liſt of his numerous works, methodically claſſed according to the æra of their appearance; to which is ſubjoined a critical account of their general contents. He has alſo traced the progreſs, and laid open the leading principles of the Linnæan ſyſtem, with a maſterly preciſion and accuracy, which could only be derived from the moſt perfect knowledge of the ſubject.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronſtedt, *and* Bergman.—*Analyſis of the Sciagraphia Mineralis.*

THE contents of this chapter being at my requeſt communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, I claim no other merit than that of giving it to the public.

" The public revenue and wealth of Sweden " being intimately connected with the mines, " particularly thoſe of iron, mineralogy has " been eminently encouraged and cultivated " in that kingdom. To this cauſe we may, " in a great meaſure, attribute the acknow- " ledged ſkill of the Swediſh chymiſts, as ſu- " perior to thoſe of many other nations: for " how much ſoever we owe to the labours " of Pott and Margraaf, and ſeveral other " Germans; it is to the Swedes that we are " indebted for the firſt rational ſyſtem of mi- " neralogy. Among thoſe who principally " taught the method of arranging theſe un- " organized bodies, we muſt not omit the " great Linnæus: he laid the baſis of what " may be called the claſſical foundation of

" his ſyſtem, in the chymical analyſis; having early diſtributed the earths into Calcareous, Vitreſcent, and Apyrous, and eſtabliſhed his orders and genera, on figure, colour, hardneſs, and other ſenſible qualities. This ſyſtem was, in a great meaſure, adopted by Wallerius. But it is to Cronſtedt that we owe the full and more preciſe diſpoſition of theſe ſubjects, according to their conſtituent parts and principles: and it muſt be allowed, that the diſcoveries of the Swediſh mineralogiſts and chymiſts have, within a few years, greatly advanced this branch of knowledge.

" Wallerius publiſhed at Stockholm, in 1747, the firſt ſketch of his ſyſtem in the Swediſh tongue; and he has preſerved nearly the ſame arrangement in the ſubſequent editions of 1754 and 1778. In the following year he gave to the world a diſſertation 'On the Nature and Origin of Nitre;' and in 1751, after he had been nominated profeſſor of chymiſtry, metallurgy, and pharmacy, an academical diſſertation 'On the Principles of Vegetation.' Soon after his appointment to the profeſſorſhip, he printed in his native language, 'An Epiſtle on the true Nature, Utility, and Excellence of Chymiſtry.'

" In

" In the next year, in addition to his tract on " Vegetation, he publiſhed another, relative " to ' The Methods and Uſe of rendering " Seeds fertile, by waſhing or infuſing them " for a certain Time in various Kinds of " Liquors :' and in the reſult he gives it as " his opinion, that ſuch methods are gene- " rally hazardous.

" In the ſame year Wallerius put forth, in " the 7th volume of the *Acta Academiæ Na-* " *turæ Curioſorum*, a paper ' On the beſt " Method of making Tar from the Pine and " Fir Trees ;' in which he takes occaſion to " treat of the principles of tar-water, the " medicinal fame whereof had, by means of " the Biſhop of Cloyne's *Siris*, ſpread over " all Europe. In the ſame acts he has " written ' On the ſtellated or arboreſcent " appearance on the *Regulus Antimonii* ;' and " gives directions to prepare the regulus ſo " as to ſucceed in rendering the ſtar viſible ; " obſerving, that it depends on the antimony " being more or leſs deprived of its ſulphur. " This year produced from the profeſſor a " theſis, containing ' Some Strictures on the " erroneous Method of preparing certain Chy- " mical Remedies :' a ſignal proof of his ap- " plication of true chymical knowledge to " the real advantage of practical medicine.

" In

" In the acts of the Royal Society of Stock-
" holm for 1754, the profeſſor has deſcribed
" the method of making, from mercury alone,
" the *arbor dianæ*, or what has been called
" the philoſophical tree. In Vol. XXI. for
" 1760, with equal ability, he inquires into
" 'the nature of that earth which exiſts
" in all vegetables and animals as a prin-
" ciple of their compoſition;' and he here
" takes occaſion to ſpeak of the method of
" obtaining pure earth of this kind, from
" water by trituration, as mentioned by Eller:
" a fact which has been much doubted, and
" diſputed, by many ſubſequent philoſophers
" and chymiſts. In theſe acts alſo, for the
" year 1765, we find the reſult of his exami-
" nation of platina, by which it appears that
" he thought it a real metal, and not, as
" ſome have judged, either a recrement, or a
" mixed metal.

" In 1761 he publiſhed an academical diſ-
" ſertation, under the title of 'Chymical Prin-
" ciples of Agriculture,' in quarto, nearly of
" 300 pages; in which the various methods
" of fertilizing different ſoils, by manures,
" and other proceſſes, are diſcuſſed. About
" the ſame time he wrote, in the Swediſh
" tongue, a theſis, on occaſion of ſome miſ-
" chief done at Upſala by lightning, intended

" to

" to prove the perfect ſimilarity between the " matter of lightning and electrical fire. In " 1768 Wallerius gave to the world a large " volume in octavo, in Latin, ' On the Ele- " ments of Metallurgy,' in which he has co- " pioufly delivered the principles of the doci- " maſtic art. The ſame year he alſo put " forth what he calls ' Lucubrations on all " the Syſtems of Mineralogical Writers,' and " on the ' method of conſtructing a rational " claſſification of the foſſil kingdom.' This " is a work of much labour and erudition; " and is highly gratifying to a curious ſearcher " into nature. He begins with the earlieſt " writers on the ſubject, and follows them " through each century to the preſent time. " He has exemplified the latter part of his " lucubrations in his own ſyſtem, of which " he publiſhed the firſt volume in a Latin " edition in 1772, and the ſecond in 1778. " This work muſt be conſidered as his ca- " pital performance. The French edition of " 1754 had been in great eſtimation and " conſtant uſe: this is much enlarged; and, " by being rendered into Latin, is become " more ſcientific, and better adapted to ge- " neral uſe. The great treaſure of erudition " and experimental knowledge which it con- " tains, makes it unqueſtionably one of the

" moſt valuable books on the ſcience; and, " in defiance of all changes of ſyſtems or " circumſtances in mineralogy and chymiſtry, " it muſt long remain a ſtriking inſtance of " the labour, learning, and ſcience of its " author. Beſide the excellent arrangement " given to the whole ſubject, and the well- " defined characters of each claſs, order, and " genus, it is enriched at the end of each " genus with copious *ſcholia*, containing the " opinions of preceding authors on the ſe- " veral ſubſtances; and he concludes with " his own idea of the true nature or com- " poſition of each. One of the lateſt of his " works is his *Meditationes de Origine Mundi*, " printed at Stockholm, in octavo, 1779, " pp. 242. It is to be expected, that many " of the principles contained in this work " relating to fire, light, fixed air, &c. and " much of his reaſoning, particularly on the " inflammable, ſaline, and aqueous principles " in bodies, will not be received by all the " philoſophers of this country; nor his theory " of the formation of this globe, be thought " ſatisfactory. Yet, the learning he has diſ- " played, and his well-intended ſolicitude to " reconcile his ſyſtem, and the changes of " the elements, to the Moſaic account of the " creation, will enſure his work a candid re-

" ception among all who are inclined to ſpe-
" culate on theſe intricate ſubjects, and are
" friendly to religion.

" This learned man, after having filled the
" chair for thirty years with high reputation,
" reſigned in 1767 the profeſſorſhip; and was
" honoured by his ſovereign with the order of
" Vaſa. Wallerius is now above eighty, and
" ſtill continues to enjoy, at his houſe near
" Upſala, a literary retirement.

" Axel Frederic Cronſtedt, the excellent
" Cronſtedt, as he is juſtly called, deſcended
" from a noble German family naturalized
" in Sweden, was a native of Sudermanland,
" and was born in 1722. He ſtudied mi-
" neralogy under Wallerius, Swab, and Tilas.
" He commenced his walk in this field of
" ſcience by a diſcovery which ſoon rendered
" him conſpicuous, that of a new ſemimetal,
" called Nickel. He gave the firſt inti-
" mation of it in a paper publiſhed in the
" Stockholm Acts, for the year 1751; and
" he detailed ſome experiments made upon it,
" in the ſame work, for the year 1754. In
" 1753 he publiſhed Obſervations 'on Gyp-
" ſum;' and in the ſixteenth volume of the
" Acts for 1755, gave a curious account of
" ſilver precipitated from water in the Kongſ-
" berg mines. In 1756 Cronſtedt diſtin-

" guiſhed himſelf by the diſcovery of the " zeolite, which he firſt named, and ſeparated " as a diſtinct ſtone, conſiſting of a peculiar " earth, as its baſis: his obſervations on it " were printed in the Stockholm Acts for " that year. Profeſſor Bergman has ſince " found, by analizing zeolite, that it conſiſts " of a mixture of ſiliceous, argillaceous, and " calcareous earth.

" In the ſame Acts, Vol. XVIII. for 1757, " he publiſhed an ingenious paper, with a " view to detect the colouring principle in " the cow-wheat *(Meſampyrum arvenſe)*, the " ſtalks of which, when faded, acquire a fine " blue colour. They yield this colour to " water; and it is not deſtroyed either by " vinegar, or ſpirit of vitriol, or by alkalis, " unleſs boiled together with theſe latter; " which led him to ſuſpect that a vegetable " dye, or pigment, might be extracted from " this plant. In 1758, at which time he " was director of the mines of Dalecar- " lia and Weſtmanland, Cronſtedt publiſh- " ed his 'Eſſay towards a Syſtem of Mine- " ralogy.' It was printed in the Swediſh " language, and without the name of the " author. In 1760, it was tranſlated into " German; and in 1770, into Engliſh; and " is now in the hands of all diligent in-

" quirers

" quirers into the knowledge of foſſils. " Wallerius himſelf has called it *Opus ſine* " *pari.* The author, not being led away " with what he calls *Figuromania*, but " neglecting the external appearances of " mineral bodies, has ſucceeded beyond all " others, in claſſing them according to their " conſtituent principles. This method obliges " him to make no diſtinction between earths " and ſtones; and to throw into an appendix " all that are called figured extraneous foſſils, " which had held ſo diſtinguiſhed a rank in " former ſyſtems.

" In the Stockholm Acts for 1761, he has " given ſome inſtructions relating to the choice " of ſtone for building; and hints at the " practicability of uſing the ſlag of iron " ſmelting houſes, by running it into * moulds " for bricks; which hint is proſecuted in a " ſubſequent paper of the year 1763, ad- " viſing, that the lime which is uſed ſhould " be reduced into fine powder. In the ſame " volume he communicates ſome obſerva- " tions ' on the Phyſical Geography of the " Province of Jemtland in Sweden.' In the

* This is now practiſed at the forges at Briſtol; and there are long ranges of wall near Bath covered with this material.

" 25th volume for 1764, Cronſtedt delivered " in a proceſs on platina, when melted with " nickel and ſulphur; which he found re- " coverable in the form of a black powder, " by diſſolving the mixed ſubſtance in aqua " fortis.

" It is to be lamented that this able man " did not live longer, to improve ſtill further " that ſcience he ſo much enlightened. He " died in 1765, in the 43d year of his " age."

A poſthumous work of this accurate mineralogiſt has lately made its appearance. For ſome time before his death he was employed in arranging and preparing for the preſs an account of the mines of Weſtmanland and Dalecarlia, of which he was ſuperintendent. A copy of this performance, originally written by the author in the Swediſh tongue, which he completed but did not live to publiſh, was fortunately procured by Mr. Georgi, adjunct to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburgh; who has given to the world a German tranſlation of it under the following title *, " Cronſtedt's Mine-

* " Mineral Geſchichte ueber Weſtmanlandiſche und " Dalecarliſche Erdgeburge auf Beobachtungen und Un- " terſuechungen gegruendet," &c.

" ralogical

" ralogical Account of the Mines of Weſt-
" manland and Dalecarlia, from his own
" obſervations and reſearches;" a work re-
plete with much curious information, and remarkable for that accuracy and preciſion, which ſo highly diſtinguiſh all his other writings.

" I regret that it is not in my power to
" furniſh the reader with more particular
" anecdotes of profeſſor Bergman. He very
" early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſtrong at-
" tachment to ſcience; and was, at a young
" period of his life, made profeſſor of mathe-
" matics and natural philoſophy in the uni-
" verſity of Upſala. We find him, ſo early
" as the year 1756, in the 17th volume of
" the Stockholm Acts, correcting a miſtake
" of the celebrated Linnæus; who, for want
" of more perfect information, had deſcribed,
" under the name of *coccus aquaticus*, the
" egg of a ſpecies of the leech genus; and,
" in the ſubſequent year, he gave an accurate
" deſcription of that genus, which was after-
" wards generally adopted by Linnæus him-
" ſelf.

" In 1759 he publiſhed a paper contain-
" ing 'A Review of the ſeveral Expla-
" nations which Natural Philoſophers have
" given of the Rainbow;' and, in 1760,

" ſome thoughts ' on the Origin of thoſe
" kinds of Meteors which are not accom-
" panied by any ſenſible ſound or exploſion;
" and a paper on the opinions held by
" philoſophers, relating to the twilight; to
" which he has prefixed the account of
" Mairan's *anticrepuſculum*, or that of the
" horizon oppoſite to the ſun. In 1761
" and 1762 profeſſor Bergman wrote, in
" the Swediſh Acts, on the ſubject of elec-
" tricity, in conſequence of a correſpon-
" dence with Mr. Wilſon; and particularly
" on the electrical quality of Iceland chry-
" ſtal, and double refracting ſpar. In the year
" 1763 he again diſtinguiſhed himſelf among
" the entomologiſts, by a paper on the
" *tenthredo*, or ſaw-fly, the caterpillars of
" which had commonly been confounded
" with thoſe of the butterfly and moth,
" until he diſcovered that the feet in the
" latter are never more than ſixteen, but
" that in the *tenthredo* they always exceed
" that number. The ſame year produced
" from the author, a reſult of ſome electrical
" experiments, made with ſilk of various
" colours, but which did not prove ſatiſ-
" factory.

" In 1767, on the reſignation of Wallerius,
" Mr. Bergman was choſen to ſucceed him as
" profeſſor

" profeſſor of chymiſtry and metallurgy. How " ably he has filled this chair, ſo honourably " occupied by his venerable predeceſſor, is " well known to all who are intereſted in theſe " purſuits. In the year 1764 the profeſſor " wrote a paper to aſcertain, from a number " of obſervations, the height in the atmoſphere " at which the *aurora borealis* exiſts. He com- " putes, that theſe appearances are ſometimes " ſo low as at 20 Swediſh miles*; at others, " that they are raiſed to 150: the medium he " therefore fixes at 72. Theſe obſervations " were afterwards further proſecuted. In " 1765 and 1766 he wrote again on electrical " ſubjects, and chiefly on the property and " laws of electricity in the Tourmalin; which " had been put into his hands, by the Royal " Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, for " examination.

" In 1767 the profeſſor publiſhed ſome im- " portant hints relative to the depuration of " alum at the alum-works; obſerving, that " it was cuſtomary to employ alkali, in order " to free it from the vitriol. He adviſes " rather to uſe for that purpoſe the admixture

* A degree containing 10½ Swediſh miles; a Swediſh mile = about 6½ Engliſh miles.

" of a portion of argillaceous earth, and pro-
" poſes a tobacco-pipe clay. A paper having
" appeared in the Stockholm Acts for 1769,
" on the culture of pine-trees, Mr. Bergman
" alſo publiſhed in the ſame, 'An Account of
" the Inſects which deſtroy that Tree in
" Sweden;' and he attributes the devaſtation
" to the abundance of the *tenthredo* caterpillar.
" In that kingdom, where ſuch immenſe quan-
" tities of wood are conſumed in the ſmelt-
" ing furnaces, theſe matters are deſerving of
" high attention. In 1770, in order to in-
" duce the Swediſh chymiſts to prepare cor-
" roſive ſublimate, which was then chiefly
" imported, our author publiſhed a paper,
" containing a recital of the various methods
" hitherto uſed to unite mercury with the
" marine acid; and he proſecutes the hiſtory
" of this combination in two ſubſequent vo-
" lumes of the ſame Acts. Some buildings
" at Stockholm having ſuffered by lightning
" in the year 1769, our author, and his ſuc-
" ceſſor in the profeſſorſhip of natural phi-
" loſophy, Mr. Wilkie, both publiſhed 'on
" the ſubject of conductors to lightning.'

" In 1771, Vol. XXXII. of the Stockholm
" Acts, profeſſor Bergman gives 'ſome In-
" ſtructions concerning the beſt Clay Com-
" poſitions for making Tiles.' In 1773 iſ-

" ſued

" ſued his obſervations on fixed air; or, as " he chuſes rather to call it, the aerial acid: " this paper, and ſeveral others, printed be- " fore and after this time, either ſeparately, " or in the Stockholm Acts, have ſince been " collected, and publiſhed by the author in " Latin, in three volumes octavo, 1779, 1780, " 1783, under the title of *Opuſcula phyſica et* " *chemica* *; *pleraque ſeorſim antea edita jam ab* " *auctore collecta, reviſa et aucta*; and have fur- " ther contributed to extend his fame, and " moſt deſervedly raiſe his character to a high " rank throughout Europe. The author pro- " poſes to carry on this miſcellaneous publica- " tion on the ſame plan.

" Dr. Troil's Account of Iceland contains " a very curious letter from the profeſſor, " written in 1776; in which he introduces " many judicious obſervations on the effects " of ſubterraneous fires, on the origin and for- " mation of baſaltes, and the lavas and foſſil " products of Iceland †.

* The following plan of this work is thus laid down by " the author himſelf: " Primo volumini præſertim Halur- " gica inſerui, in ſecundo mineralogica et metallurgica " prodibunt, in tertio attractionum doctrina, una cum " analyſi quorundam corporum organicorum, in quarto " varia ad phyſicam et hiſtoriam naturalem pertinentia, et " in ſequentibus iterum chemica, ſi Deus vitam vireſque " largitur." Opuſ. Phyſ. Præf. p. xvi.

† See Troil's Letters on Iceland, p. 338. 400.

" Profeſſor

" Profeſſor Bergman has not confined his " reſearches and inquiries to the mere analy- " ſis of bodies in the laboratory, but has ex- " tended his views to what is called phyſical " geography; and has ventured to give the " world his lucubrations on the ſtructure and " formation of the earth, in a profeſſed trea- " tiſe on the ſubject *. His eſſay on the " uſefulneſs of Chymiſtry, lately tranſlated " into the Engliſh language, evinces, not " only his extenſive acquaintance with this " ſcience in a theoretical and practical way, " but alſo his comprehenſive view of the good " effects its improvement muſt have on the " intereſts of mankind."

It may be proper to obſerve, that Mr. Bergman has compoſed two academical diſſertations †, replete with much accurate information on the origin and progreſs of chymiſtry. In the firſt he treats of the riſe of that art, and its gradual improvement, in a chronological ſeries, to the middle of the 7th century; in the ſecond he carries his inquiries from that period to the middle of the 17th

* " Phyſick Beſkrifnung oefoer Jordklotet," or Phyſical Deſcription of the Earth.

† De Primordiis Chemiæ in 1777. Chemiæ Progreſſus a Medio Sæc. VII. ad Medium Sæc. XVII.—1782.

century;

century; and it is to be hoped that he will in the ſame manner proſecute this ſubject to the preſent time.

In the fourth volume of the Upſala Acts, the profeſſor has lately put forth *Meditationes de Syſtemate Foſſilium Naturali*; or, Conſiderations on the Natural Syſtem of Foſſils. This learned work is divided into two parts; the firſt, on their arrangement, treats of natural bodies in general, of the criteria of foſſils in general, of their claſſes, genera, ſpecies, varieties; the ſecond lays down rules for giving names to foſſils; a great deſideratum in this branch of natural knowledge; and which will tend to prevent that confuſion and uncertainty derived from the want of preciſe, general, and ſpecific appellations.

"The reader will not wonder that ſuch "extraordinary merit ſhould have been duly "noticed by the king of Sweden. That "monarch has honoured profeſſor Bergman "with the order of Vaſa *; and all men of "ſcience

* Having omitted to give an account of the Swediſh orders, I ſhall take this opportunity of mentioning them. There are four orders: the three firſt were inſtituted in 1748, by Frederic I.; and the laſt by the preſent king.

I. The order of the Seraphim, or the blue ribband; which is appropriated to perſons of the firſt rank. It admits

" ſcience will join in wiſhing that he may " long fill the chair he now occupies ſo much " to the advancement of ſcience."

The laſt work which I ſhall mention of this great chymiſt, is the *Sciagraphia Mineralis*, or Sketch of the Mineral Kingdom;

mits only of 24 members, excluſive of the royal family and foreign princes. II. The order of the Sword, or the yellow ribband, for the officers of the navy and army. There are three claſſes of this order: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribbands over the ſhoulders, and a ſtar on their coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband in the ſame manner, but without the ſtar. Each of theſe claſſes contains 24 members. 3. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole. The number of theſe is indefinite, but generally amounts to above 1000. III. Polar Star, or the black ribband. Of this order there are two claſſes: 1. Commanders, who wear the great croſs pendent round the neck. There are 24 of this claſs, but the king propoſes to add four for the biſhops. 2. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole, are, excluſive of foreigners, 48; to whom the king propoſes to add ſix for the clergy. This order, before the inſtitution of the following order of Vaſa, was conferred upon men of letters. IV. The order of Vaſa, or the green ribband, eſtabliſhed at the coronation of the preſent king, is divided into three claſſes: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder, and the ſtar on the coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder without the ſtar. 3. Knights, who wear the ribband over the neck. This order is conferred upon perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in agriculture, commerce, the arts, and particular ſciences; ſuch as natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, medicine, &c.

which

which may be conſidered as heads of a courſe of lectures drawn up for the uſe of Mr. Ferber, who obtained the author's permiſſion to preſent it to the world. This ſhort, but able tract, was firſt publiſhed in 1782, at Leipſic and Deſſau, and was immediately reprinted in England and Italy.

I ſhall here ſubjoin the following analyſis of it by the ſame ingenious author to whom I am indebted for the former part of this chapter.

" The *Sciagraphia Mineralis**, although " but the outlines of a ſyſtem, will be thankfully received by all mineralogiſts. Cronſtedt laid the baſis of the method purſued " in this tract, and made an extenſive progreſs " in the proſecution of it. Bergman profeſſes " to have adopted his ideas; and, after his " example, begins by eſtabliſhing the following firſt principles.

" Firſt, That of whatſoever value external " appearance may be in the arrangement of " organized bodies, as in animals and plants, " yet it is not to be truſted in the claſſing " of unorganized ſubſtances; colour, conſiſtence, and texture, being too variable to

* This tract has been lately tranſlated by Dr. Withering. See outlines of Mineralogy from the original of Sir Torbern Bergman, &c.

" be

" be depended on as certain characteriſtics. " He by no means, however, diſallows the " uſe of theſe external qualities; ſince, to an " experienced eye, they will greatly aſſiſt us " in aſcertaining the nature of foſſils, and " frequently direct to the ſhorteſt method of " analizing them. Secondly, It is only from " a knowledge of the internal compoſition, " that the claſſes, genera, and ſpecies of " foſſils are to be determined; and the exter- " nal appearance muſt be referred to the diſ- " tinction of varieties only. Thirdly, In ge- " neral, the principle or matter which abounds " moſt in any ſubſtance, is to determine its " place in the ſyſtem. But this law muſt be " ſubject to exceptions, where one of the com- " pounds is, as a baſe, the moſt important " part of the mixed body. This holds in " the earths, and particularly in the ores " of metals. Fourthly, The ſolid principles " muſt uſually be admitted to form the gene- " rical character, although it ſhould exiſt in " a leſs proportion than the fluid part. To " inſtance in magneſia, gypſum, and alum, " in all which the genus is determined from " the ſolid ingredient, or the earth, and not " by the fluid part or vitriolic acid; although " the quantity of the latter greatly exceeds " that of the former. The ſpecific charac-

" ters

" ters are to be deduced from the different " combinations and proportions of the ſeveral " principles in each.

" All mineral bodies fall into four great " claſſes: I. Salts; II. Earths; III. Bitu- " mens; and, IV. Metals.

" CLASS I. SALTS.

" Salts are acid, alkaline, neutral, earthy, " and metallic. In this claſs, to the three " well-known acids of vitriol, nitre, and ſea- " ſalt, the author, beſide introducing the " phoſphoric acid as a principle, has joined " alſo the fluor acid; the acid of arſenic; " one newly diſcovered in black-lead, called " the acid of *molybdena*; one called the acid " of *calx ponderoſa*; the acid of borax; that of " amber; and laſtly, the aerial acid, or fixed " air. The fluor acid, firſt diſcovered by " Mr. Scheele, has, while in the form of va- " pours, the power of corroding glaſs, and " with water forms ſiliceous earth *. It is " found united to a calcareous baſe in the

* It has been ſince diſcovered and acknowledged by the author, that although the fluor acid diſſolves ſiliceous earths whenever it meets with them; yet, that it does not, as he imagined in this place, when in a ſtate of vapour, actually form ſiliceous earth with water.

" *fluor mineralis*; and, as profeſſor Bergman " ſtrongly ſuſpects, enters into the compoſi- " tion of all ſiliceous bodies. The acid of " *molybdena* the profeſſor conjectures to be of " metallic origin; and he thinks there is reaſon " to believe, that each metal has its peculiar " acid, although, as yet, from the ſtronger union " of the acid with the phlogiſton, it has not " been developed, except in arſenic, where the " coheſion is leſs firm.

" To the number of alkaline ſalts there is " no addition. The neutral are divided into " perfect and imperfect: the latter, being thoſe " in which one of the component principles " exiſts, either in a ſmaller quantity, or is " weaker in its power than is fully requiſite. " The more perfect neutral ſalts, formed by " the union of the three alkalies, with the " three primitive mineral acids, are well " known. The imperfect are, tincal or bo- " rax, being the mineral alkali partially im- " pregnated with a peculiar acid; the vege- " table alkali united with the aerial acid, " which, he obſerves, is ſeldom found native, " except in the neighbourhood of great woods " deſtroyed by fire; the *alkali minerale aëratum*, " or natron; and the alkali volatile *aëratum*; " for an account of which ſee Phil. Tranſ. " Vol. LVII.

" Among

" Among the earthy ſalts he has introduced " that from which the firſt of his primitive " earths is produced. He calls it *terra pon-* " *deroſa vitriolata*. Among the ſalts the profeſ- " ſor has alſo brought the gypſum, or ſelenites, " under the name of *calx vitriolata*; the *calx* " *nitrata*, or terrene nitre, found ſparingly in " waters: he relates, upon this article, that " there are ſaid to be chalk-hills in France " ſpontaneouſly impregnated with the nitrous " acid; the *calx ſalita*, or fixed ammoniacal ſalt; " the *calx aërata*, or marble, lime-ſtone, &c. " of waters; the *magneſia vitriolata*, or Epſom " ſalt; the *magneſia nitrata aërata*; and finally, " the alum, or *argilla vitriolata*.

" The metallic ſalts are, the *cuprum vitrio-* " *latum*, or blue vitriol; *ferrum vitriola-* " *tum*, or green vitriol; *ferrum aëratum*, or " iron diſſolved by the aerial acid in mineral " waters; *niccolum vitriolatum*, or vitriol of " nickel; *zincum vitriolatum*, or white vitriol; " and the *manganeſium* * *ſalitum*, or manganeſe " united to the muriatic acid, which has " been found diſſolved in ſome waters by " Mr. Hielm.

* In the original it is magneſium; but Mr. Withering informs us, that it is now changed, by the concurrence of profeſſor Bergman, to *manganeſium*, in order to prevent confuſion from its ſimilarity to magneſia.

" The profeſſor cloſes this claſs by enu-
" merating ſome ſpecies of ſalts, which
" are compoſed of three or more principles,
" ſo ſtrictly combined as not to ſeparate
" in chryſtallizing. Theſe *ſales triplices*
" are the ſalt of the ocean mixed with
" magneſia; Epſom ſalt, with martial vi-
" triol; native alum, impregnated with mar-
" tial vitriol, and with vitriol of cobalt; blue
" vitriol with iron; green vitriol with nickel;
" and blue vitriol, with iron and zinc.

" Throughout this claſs are conciſely point-
" ed out the ſeveral *matrices* and natural
" modes of exiſtence of all theſe ſubjects; as
" well as the method of procuring the pure
" artificial ones, and of detecting them when
" in ſolution; the earthy ſalts being precipi-
" tated by mild, and the metallic by phlogiſ-
" ticated alkalies. In all the claſſes profeſſor
" Bergman, after the manner of Linnæus,
" Wallerius, and Cronſtedt, has endeavoured
" to give names to all the ſubjects expreſſive
" of the internal characters or principles of
" each.

" Class II. Earths.

" Of theſe he allows only five diſtinct kinds,
" or ſuch as are termed primitive earths, be-
" ing

" ing incapable, by any art yet known, of fur-
" ther decompoſition.

" Theſe are, 1. *terra ponderoſa*, or heavy
" earth; 2. Calx, or calcareous earth; 3. Mag-
" neſia; 4. *Argilla*, or argillaceous earth; and,
" 5. *Terra ſilicea*, or ſiliceous earth. Cron-
" ſtedt had ſtated nine primitive earths; of
" which Bergman has reduced the garnet kind,
" micaceous, and the zeolitic, to his argilla-
" ceous genus; having diſcovered them to be
" compounded principally of that earth, with
" various proportions of ſome other of his
" primitive earths. He has ſince alſo found
" the aſbeſtine earth of Cronſtedt to be a
" compounded earth; and as to the manga-
" neſe, it ſtands no longer in this claſs, but
" occupies the laſt place among the ignoble
" metals.

" The *terra ponderoſa*, which the author
" firſt detected in 1774, is procured in its
" preſent ſtate from the ponderous ſpar, or
" *marmor metallicum*; which, with the *lapis*
" *hepaticus* (Cronſ. § 24), appears hitherto to
" be the only ſubſtance in which it has been
" found; though he ſcarcely doubts but that it
" will be diſcovered in many others. 2. *Calx*.
" The moſt pure is yielded by chalk. Under
" this genus are ranged, firſt, the lime-
" ſtones of Cronſ. § 5—12. called here *calx*
" *aërata*;

" *aërata*; the *lapis ſuillus*, which is limeſtone
" impregnated with *petroleum*; *fluor mineralis*,
" or ſparry fluor of Cronſ. § 87—101; marle,
" which he calls *calx aërata tam argillaceo*
" *quam ſiliceo inquinata*; and ſeveral others.
" 3. *Magneſia*, procured from Epſom ſalt.
" Profeſſor Bergman enumerates five ſpecies;
" among which are the ſoap-rocks, Cronſ.
" 79—83, which he denominates *magneſia*
" *ſiliceo intime adunata*. All theſe, except the
" pure magneſia of waters, are much con-
" taminated by iron. 4. *Argilla*. The pure
" elementary earth of this kind is beſt ob-
" tained from alum. Under this genus are
" enumerated ten ſpecies, as having the argil-
" laceous earth for the principal baſis: the
" procelain clay; bole; marle; *terra lemnia*;
" white alum ore; alum ſlate; the gems,
" ſuch as the ruby, ſapphire, topaz, emerald;
" the granites, baſaltes or ſcherle; zeolite;
" and the talky and micaceous bodies. The
" diamond is not ranged under this head.
" The tourmalin holds a middle place be-
" tween the genus and the ſcherles. 5. *Terra*
" *ſilicea*, procured in its pureſt ſtate from rock
" chryſtal. This earth is inſoluble in all the
" acids, except the fluor acid. The profeſſor
" ſeems to ſuſpect that it is, nevertheleſs, not
" a pure primitive or elementary earth. Un-

" der this genus rank all the quartz tribe;
" chalcedony; probably alſo the opal; jaſpers;
" *petroſilex* or chert; feldt ſpat; and the
" yellowiſh green cloudy topaz, or *chryſopra-*
" *ſius*. Whether the cornelian, and the re-
" maining part of the flinty ſtones, belong
" to this genus, he is yet not able to deter-
" mine.

" CLASS III. BITUMENS;

" Or inflammable bodies; which the au-
" thor divides only into two genera, under
" the names of ſulphur and petroleum.
" Among the firſt, rank common brim-
" ſtone; plumbago; black-lead or Molyb-
" dena, a ſulphur united to a peculiar acid.
" Under the genera of petroleum, he claſſes
" the naphtha and rock oils, coal, and
" amber. Profeſſor Bergman adopts the opi-
" nion of M. Aublet, concerning the vege-
" table origin of amber-greaſe *. But it is
" very lately rendered more probable, that
" it is an animal production, being the ſcy-
" bala of the whale. This opinion is in-
" geniouſly ſupported by reaſon and analogy,
" as well as by ſome facts, in a paper written

* See Hiſtoire des Plantes de la Guiane Françoiſe, Vol. II. Sup. p. 39. Couma Tab. 392.

" by Dr. Schwediawer, in the laſt volume of " the Philoſophical Tranſactions *. Many " mineralogiſts will be ſurpriſed to ſee the " diamond in the bituminous claſs; yet pro- " feſſor Bergman confeſſes that he could not " find a more proper ſtation for it: and he " juſtifies himſelf on the following conſide- " rations. It remains untouched by all the " acids; it is evaporable in the open fire, " appearing to diſſipate in a cloud, or lambent " flame; and in the focus of the ſpeculum it " leaves ſlight traces of ſooty remains. This " deflagration, howſoever ſlow and gentle, he " apprehends, reduces it to a place among " inflammable bodies.

" Class IV. Metals.

" In the introductory ſection to this claſs, " the profeſſor aſſerts the great affinity that " ſubſiſts between bituminous bodies and me- " tals, by obſerving, that both zinc and arſenic " flame when properly heated in the fire.

" He divides metals into noble and ignoble; " and treats of them in the order of their " ſpecific gravities.

" Of gold he enumerates four ſpecies, " found in a native ſtate; and, though he

* Vol. II. p. 226—241.

" mentions

" mentions a *pyrites aureus* (Cronſ. § 166. *a*),
" has nevertheleſs ſome doubts, as to the
" reality of the mineralization of gold. Pla-
" tina *, he ſays, is always debaſed with a
" martial admixture. Of ſilver he gives
" ſeven ſpecies as native, and eleven mine-
" ralized. He attributes to Mr. Woulfe
" the merit of obſerving the vitriolic prin-
" ciple in horn ſilver; and gives him equal
" praiſe for his diſcovery, that mercury is
" mineralized by the muriatic and vitriolic
" acids. Under lead, the profeſſor mentions
" a ſpecies found by M. Mounet, which is
" mineralized by means of the vitriolic acid;
" and another, detected by Dr. Gahn, which
" is reduced to ore by the phoſphoric acid.

" He has exhibited, under the article of
" copper, a ſpecies ſent to him by Mr.
" Werner, which he found to be mineralized
" with argillaceous earth and muriatic acid.
" Only nine ſpecies of iron † are enumerated
" in

* Count Sickengen has lately diſcovered a means of purifying platina, by which that metal, before ſuppoſed to be to water as 18 to 1, is now proved to be as 21 to 1. Gold is only as 19.64 to 1. See Verſuche ueber die Platina. Manheim.

† In 1782, was publiſhed by Sweno Rinman, director of the iron manufactories, a moſt able treatiſe, " Foerſoek
" till

" in this work; one of which, he ſays, con-
" tains a new metal. This has ſince been
" further inveſtigated, exalted in fact to the
" rank of a metal, and moſt aptly named
" *ſiderum*. The miſpickel of authors is re-
" moved from the arſenic ores to the iron,
" and deſcribed under the name of *ferrum*
" *nativum arſenico adunatum*. He tells us,
" that he never ſaw native tin; and doubts
" its exiſtence. Two new ſpecies from Si-
" beria are mentioned in the preface, under
" the name of *ſtannum ſulphuratum*.

" Biſmuth and nickel ſtand nearly as they
" do in Cronſtedt; except that Bergman does
" not notice the nickel of Cronſtedt, which
" is ſaid to be mineralized by the vitriolic
" acid. The ſpecies of arſenic and cobalt
" remain nearly the ſame in profeſſor Berg-
" man's arrangement, as in that of Cronſtedt.
" The profeſſor ſeems to think that the ana-
" lyſis of arſenic leads further into the true
" nature of metallic ſubſtances than that of
" any other metal; ſince, from arſenic, not

" till Jærnets hiſtoria," or Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Iron, the reſult of forty years obſervations. A tranſlation of this work could not fail of being highly uſeful to the Engliſh naturaliſt and manufacturer.

" only

" only the redundant quantity of phlogiſton " is capable of being extricated, ſo as to " leave it in a calciform ſtate, as in other " metals; but, by further management, it " can alſo be deprived of the remaining por- " tion, and its peculiar acid thus developed. " If art ſhould ever be able to deſtroy in " other metals, as in this, that ſtrong co- " heſion which ſubſiſts between the phlogiſton " and the acid; it muſt, as he obſerves, very " greatly improve our knowledge of mineral " ſubſtances. In treating of zink, he in- " troduces a curious kind, communicated by " M. Born, which he calls *zincum aëratum* " *ſiliceo mixtum*. Of antimony only three " ſpecies are enumerated. *Manganeſium*, or " manganeſe, which, in the works of Cron- " ſtedt and Wallerius, is placed among the " earths, having been reduced to a reguline " ſtate, is now, for the firſt time, brought " into the metallic claſs, and occupies the " laſt place. The author makes two ſpecies, " a calciform, and another which is mine- " ralized by the aerial acid.

" The *manganeſium*, and the new metal " ſince called *ſiderum*, are not the only new " metals mentioned in this ſketch. He gives " us, in the 32d ſection, ſeveral reaſons which

" induced

" induced him to think that the acid of Molyb-
" dena was of metallic origin; and relates,
" that in consequence of his directions, M.
" Hielm has obtained a regulus from that
" substance; though, at the publication of
" this work, it had not been sufficiently exa-
" mined.

" It is even suspected by the author, that
" his *terra ponderosa* is in reality a new
" metal: for there is great similarity be-
" tween this earth and the calx of lead;
" and he has lately discovered a method of
" precipitating it by means of the phlo-
" gisticated alkali. Nevertheless, not hav-
" ing hitherto been able to reduce it to a
" reguline state, it must remain among the
" earths.

" Although in systems of mineralogy
" founded entirely on chymical characters;
" stones, and petrefactions, have no place
" in the body of the system, yet professor
" Bergman does not mean to exclude a due
" attention to them; the knowledge of the
" former being of the utmost importance in
" the arts of life; and that of petrefactions
" leading, perhaps, finally to explain more
" intimately, not only the nature of the
" containing substances, but the internal con-

" stitution

" ſtitution of the globe. Hence he has, in " the manner of Wallerius and Cronſtedt, " placed them at the end of this work; and " very briefly ſuggeſted a method of ar- " ranging them, founded on the claſſical " characters of his own ſyſtem.

" It ſhould ſeem that profeſſor Bergman " has not introduced into this ſketch any " articles of the foſſil kingdom, which chy- " miſtry has not ſufficiently aſcertained; " and to his own labours many very im- " portant diſcoveries and alterations are ow- " ing: yet, from this ſlight view of his " work, it is immediately diſcerned, that the " completion of a ſyſtem muſt be wanting, " till the labour and attention of chymiſts " have found the true place of a great num- " ber of ſubſtances hitherto not ſufficiently " analized. In the mean time, till that " perfection is attained, it would be highly " deſirable to ſee, from the pen of ſo ſkilful " a maſter, the whole mineral kingdom, as " far as is poſſible, arranged agreeably to " the plan here laid down; ſince the ſa- " gacity and penetrating eye of ſo able a " chymiſt would qualify him to aſſign, with " great probability, the true place of many " ſubſtances which chymical analyſis might

" not

" not have abſolutely fixed: and we are " glad to announce, that the author in- " tends hereafter to publiſh this work on an " enlarged and more perfect plan *."

* Paucis interjectis annis, ſi Deus vitam vireſque largitur, et locupletius et adcuratius hoc rudimentum proditurum ſpero.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

General deſcription of the country.—Weſteros.—*Tomb of* Eric XIV.—*His impriſonment and death.*—*Account of his family.*—*Singular adventures of his eldeſt ſon* Guſtavus.—Kungſoer.—Arboga.—Orebro.—Marieſtadt.—Lidkioping.—Trolhætta.—*River* Gotha.—*Attempts to join the* Gulf of Bothnia *and the* German Ocean *by an inland navigation acroſs* Sweden.—*Fruitleſs endeavours to render the cataracts of* Trolhætta *navigable.*—*Deſcription of the works.*

THE provinces of Upland, Weſtmanland, and Nerike, which I traverſed in my way to Gotheborg, are eſteemed the richeſt and fineſt parts of Sweden; and indeed I can hardly figure to myſelf a more variegated or pleaſing ſcenery than is exhibited by the general face of the country. Hills and dales, rocks and vallies, ſmall plains, numerous lakes, foreſts, meadows and arable land, frequent towns and villages, and ſcattered farmhouſes, are blended together with a conſtant and delightful variety. Thus Sweden, which ſome travellers, forming their judgment merely

ly from the few diſtricts that fell under their immediate obſervation, have deſcribed as a maſs of barren and ungenial ſoil, is evidently not deficient in the moſt pictureſque beauties of rural nature. But I haſten from general to particular deſcription.

March 6. From Upſala I paſſed a tract of country, more open and fertile than I had hitherto obſerved in Sweden, to Endkioping, a ſmall town, ſituated upon a river cloſe to an inlet of the lake Mæler, and conſiſting chiefly of wooden houſes painted for the moſt part red. It ſtands upon a ridge of ground compoſed of ſand and gravel, which once formed the ſhore of the lake. Beyond it is a ſmall plain, formerly covered with water, in which I obſerved many ſcattered fragments of granite. The two next poſts brought me, at the end of 24 miles, to Weſteros, ſituated likewiſe upon a ſmall river cloſe to the Mæler.

Weſteros, or Weſtern Aroſia, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from Oſtra Aros, or Eaſtern Aroſia, the antient name of Upſala, is eſteemed, by the native writers, a place of very high antiquity. They derive its appellation by a fanciful etymology from the river Ar, and Os, a mouth; and ſuppoſe it to be alluded to by Tacitus,

Tacitus *, and by Jornandes the Gothic hiſtorian. But without dwelling upon ſuch etymological inquiries, which are apt to reſt upon ſlender foundations, we may obſerve, that the name occurs in the earlieſt times of Swediſh hiſtory. Weſteros carries on a conſiderable commerce with Stockholm acroſs the lake Mæler; particularly in copper and iron from the neighbouring mines, which abound in the province of Weſtmanland. It is a large ſtraggling town, compoſed of wooden houſes, and contains the ruins of an ancient palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden. It is a biſhop's ſee; and the cathedral, which is built with brick, is celebrated for the tower, eſteemed the higheſt in the kingdom: the lower part of this tower is ſquare, and ſupports an octagon ſpire tapering gradually like a pyramid, and covered with copper.

Within the cathedral is the tomb of Eric XIV. whom I have before had occaſion to mention, and whoſe final cataſtrophe I ſhall now relate. We may pity the unfortunate monarch who was ſubject to ſuch dreadful fits of inſanity as may account, in ſome degree, for his actions; yet we cannot, at the ſame time, but confeſs, that he was unworthy

* Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 193.

to reign. The prelude to his depoſition was the releaſe of his brother John * from the caſtle of Gripſholm, where he had been confined by Eric during the ſpace of four years. His dethronement, which he had merited by the moſt flagrant enormities, was haſtened by his imprudence in publicly eſpouſing Catharine, a woman of the loweſt extraction, who had formerly been his miſtreſs; and by what he conſidered as the moſt fortunate circumſtance of his life, the birth of a ſon, whom he had compelled his brothers to acknowledge as the heir-apparent to the throne. This event excluding his brothers, John and Charles, from all hopes of the ſucceſſion, diſpoſed them to avail themſelves of the general diſcontents; which the capricious conduct of Eric, his miſtruſt of the principal nobility, and his unlimited confidence in perſons of the meaneſt extraction, excited through the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 10th of July 1568, they raiſed the ſtandard of revolt at Wadſtena; and their party rapidly acquired ſuch numbers, that Eric, being beſieged in

* John had been juſtly impriſoned for marrying the daughter of Sigiſmond king of Poland in oppoſition to Eric; and for maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with Sigiſmond had been condemned to death by the ſtates, but was pardoned by the king.

Stockholm,

Stockholm, was ſoon compelled to capitulate, and to make a public abdication of his crown in favour of John. The depoſed monarch was immediately impriſoned in the caſtle of Stockholm, where he endured every ſpecies of perſecution and indignity. To uſe his own pathetic words, which beſt expreſs his ſufferings, "God knows how cruelly and unworthily I have been uſed theſe 22 weeks laſt paſt. Not a day goes over my head without leaving behind it ſome affliction. We have been (beſide the provocations given us from the reproaches of ſlanderous men) exceedingly tormented with hunger, cold, ſtench, and darkneſs; and, what is more affecting than all the reſt, my enemies have more than once attacked us with ſwords and poniards. Sometimes we have been deprived of the common refreſhments of reſt and ſleep, becauſe of tumults and noiſe in the night ſeaſon *." Once, in particular, being rouſed to reſiſtance by the inſults of one of his brutal keepers, the latter ſhattered his arm with a muſket; and left him for ſeveral hours weltering in his blood without any aſſiſtance.

* Account of Livonia, p. 114.

We are naturally anxious to know in what manner a ſovereign, long uſed to the pomp and pageantry of a court, could amuſe himſelf in a priſon, deprived not only of all the comforts, but even the neceſſaries of life; and hiſtory has, in this inſtance, gratified our curioſity. During the firſt part of his confinement he employed himſelf in writing an apology for his own conduct, as well with reſpect to his brother John, as in relation to the cataſtrophe of the Stures. Several of the papers which he ſketched upon this occaſion ſtill exiſt. They are drawn up in the form of ſyllogiſms *, with the minuteſt attention to the rules of logic; an extraordinary mode of conſolation to a depoſed ſovereign.

In the beginning or 1569 Eric was ſummoned before the ſtates aſſembled at Stockholm; and, like Charles I. of England, brought

* A ſpecimen of theſe ſyllogyſms may, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the reader.

"He who aſſiſts my enemy, declares himſelf my enemy: "John aſſiſted my enemies with money; ergo, he declares "himſelf my enemy. He who favours the enemies of a "kingdom, is an enemy of that kingdom: Nicholas Swan-"teſſon favoured the enemies of the kingdom; therefore "he is an enemy of this kingdom. John is my ſubject, as "well according to all the laws, as from his oath of alle-"giance; therefore he cannot judge me who am his king, "becauſe I enjoy the Swediſh law." Hiſt. de Eric XIV. p. 210.

to

to a trial before his ſubjects. His two brothers being preſent, the articles of accuſation were read; when Eric, whoſe capacity, naturally good, was quickened by his misfortunes, anſwered the ſeveral charges with a warmth of eloquence and ſubtlety of argument which aſtoniſhed his accuſers. In the heat of diſpute, John reproached him with his inſanity: "I never was inſane but once;" the depoſed monarch inſtantly replied, "and that was "when I releaſed you from priſon." At the concluſion of this trial he was declared to have forfeited the crown by his miſconduct and tyranny; and, being reconducted to priſon, underwent an additional load of calamities. He not only wanted occaſionally common neceſſaries; but, what afflicted him more ſtrongly, he was deprived even of his books, which had hitherto afforded him ſome amuſement, and of the ſociety of his wife and children. In vain he wrote repeated letters to his brother, requeſting ſome alleviation of his diſtreſs; but not the ſlighteſt notice was paid to theſe applications. However tyrannical we may eſteem his conduct while he ſat upon the throne, yet ſuch unnatural cruelties, ſo wantonly inflicted without the leaſt neceſſity, reflect the utmoſt diſgrace upon the memory of his brother; and we almoſt loſe

our abhorrence of Eric's former actions in our ſenſe of his calamitous ſituation. The people, at length ſympathizing with the diſtreſs of their depoſed ſovereign, began to condemn the extreme rigour of his treatment; and a ſtrong party even meditated a revolt. Upon its diſcovery and ſuppreſſion, he was transferred to Abo in Finland, where he underwent a ſtill ſeverer confinement. In 1570 he was impriſoned at Caſtleholm, in the iſle of Aland, in a dungeon, which I have deſcribed in a former chapter; and in the autumn of the ſame year was removed to the caſtle of Gripſholm. Here his ſorrows were for a while alleviated by the preſence of his beloved Catharine: but he was again deprived of this comfort in 1573, upon being transferred to Weſteros. In a letter to her, he complains bitterly of his ſeparation, and aſſures her of his unalterable attachment. He laments the miſeries of his own impriſonment; acquaints her that he had been confined in a dark dungeon for ſeven months, and was but juſt removed to a more comfortable apartment. "God forbid," he adds, "wherever you are, "that you and your children ſhould experience "any ſimilar ſeverity: forget not your beloved "Eric; and break not the marriage vow, to "which I have always adhered with ſuch in-
"violable

"violable conſtancy." From Weſteros he was ſent the following year to Orebyhus, near Wendel, in the province of Upland, where he terminated his miſerable exiſtence. Theſe frequent changes in the places of his impriſonment, were occaſioned by the apprehenſions of John; who perceived that the nation began to compaſſionate his brother's wretched ſituation, and that many attempts had been actually made to reſtore him to liberty. In conſequence of theſe alarms, John, in 1569, ſecretly laid before the ſenate the neceſſity of haſtening Eric's death; but though he found no difficulty in obtaining their conſent to that infamous propoſal, yet he deferred the execution. At length, as Eric had once nearly eſcaped from priſon, and as the number of his partizans encreaſed; he reſolved to inflict the ſentence of death which had been agreed to by the ſenate. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1577, he diſpatched his ſecretary to Oreby with a doſe of poiſon, and with directions in what manner to proceed. If Eric ſhould obſtinately refuſe to ſwallow the draught, the keeper was ordered to open his veins, or to ſtrangle him under a mattreſs. There was, however, no occaſion for proceeding to force: the wretched ſufferer received the news of his approaching fate without the leaſt

emotion; and prepared for it with the utmoſt reſignation. On the 22d of February he partook of the ſacrament with the moſt fervent devotion; and on the 26th at noon, having ſwallowed the poiſon in a plate of ſoup, expired, in the ninth year of his impriſonment, and in the 45th of his age *. His body was tranſported to Weſteros, and interred in the cathedral, where the biſhop of that ſee preached a funeral ſermon from this remarkable text, "The kingdom is turned about and become "my brother's; for it was his from the Lord." His tomb is a raiſed monument of plain ſtone. Upon the walls of the chapel in which it ſtands are his arms: the three crowns as king of Sweden; the lion as duke of Finland; and the wheat-ſheaf, the device of the Vaſa family. The whole inſcription is E. R. or *Eric Rex*, in large characters, with a crown painted over each letter; and underneath the Latin text of the funeral ſermon preached at his interment, *Tranſlatum eſt regnum*, &c.

Eric, during the firſt part of his confinement, kept a journal of the occurrences

* The circumſtances of Eric's depoſition and impriſonment are principally ſelected from the Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. by Celſius, Lib. XI. and XII.; and Dahlin's Geſchichte Von Sweden, Vol. III. p. 538 to p. 551; and Vol. IV. p. 66 to 68.

which happened to him in priſon; from which it appears, that his wife was the conſtant ſubject of his thoughts. During her abſence, writing to her was his almoſt daily occupation; and his letters breathe the moſt affectionate and warmeſt attachment. He ſoothed many hours of his impriſonment by muſic, in which he excelled both as a performer and compoſer. His books, when he was indulged in the uſe of them, afforded a pleaſing reſource; and he filled the margins with numerous remarks. He tranſlated into his native tongue, the hiſtory of the Swediſh kings, from the original of John Magnus; to which he added ſome Latin verſes upon the character of each ſovereign. He compoſed two penitential pſalms, which are inſerted in the Swediſh Pſalter. His memorial upon the cauſes of the war between himſelf and Frederic king of Denmark, his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological obſervations, his treatiſe upon the art of war, all written in the Latin language, prove his capacity and erudition.

Catharine, his wife, ſurvived him. She was the daughter of a peaſant; and, while an infant, being obſerved by Eric, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he paid great attention to her education, and placed her in the court of his ſiſter Elizabeth. When ſhe arrived

arrived at years of maturity ſhe became his miſtreſs; and acquired, in a ſhort ſpace of time, an extraordinary aſcendency over his capricious diſpoſition: an aſcendency derived from the graces of her perſon and the endowments of her mind; but, according to the prevailing notions of the age, imputed to philters and love potions. His attachment increaſing, inſtead of diminiſhing, by poſſeſſion, Eric (fruſtrated in his hopes of marrying ſeveral foreign princeſſes) at length eſpouſed her, after ſhe had borne to him a natural ſon. During his confinement, Catharine gratefully returned his affection with equal eſteem and tenderneſs; and afforded to her unfortunate lord much conſolation in his miſery. She ſurvived her huſband many years; and ſuch was her prudent deportment, that ſhe conciliated the favour of John and Sigiſmond, from whom ſhe obtained a conſiderable revenue; and was permitted to paſs the remainder of her life in Finland in perfect tranquillity.

Eric left two natural daughters by Agda, daughter of a rich merchant of Stockholm, Virginia and Conſtantia, both married in Sweden; and by Catharine four children, of whom only Guſtavus and Sigrida ſurvived their father; Sigrida eſpouſed count Tott, and her

deſcendants

deſcendants ſtill ſurvived in that illuſtrious branch.

Guſtavus, born in 1568, and declared ſucceſſor to the Swediſh crown, was, upon his father's depoſition, impriſoned at Stockholm; and when Eric was removed to Abo, was encloſed in a ſack, and delivered to an officer belonging to the court, who had orders to put him to death, and to bury him at the extremity of the town. As the officer was proceeding, before day-break, to carry his barbarous command into execution, he was obſerved by a Swediſh nobleman, who opened the ſack, and diſcovering the infant, reſcued him from immediate deſtruction. Guſtavus, thus preſerved, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends of Eric. He received a wandering education *, in the Jeſuits convent of Braunſberg, at Thorn in Poliſh Pruſſia, and at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. In theſe different ſeminaries he made a conſiderable progreſs in literature; and, in particular, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his proficiency in chymiſtry, that he was called the ſecond Paracelſus †. He was no leſs remarkable for his knowledge of languages; ſpeaking

* Meſſ. Scond. Illuſ. Lib. VII. p. 10. Dahlin, IV. p. 158.

† Dahlin, IV. p. 157.

with

with fluency, beſide his native tongue, French, Italian, German, Poliſh, Ruſſian, and Latin. He was indeed ſo zealous in the proſecution of his ſtudies, that, on account of his indigent circumſtances, after attending the ſchools by day, he uſed in the evening to ply at the inns in the loweſt capacity, in order to procure a ſcanty ſubſiſtence. His literary acquiſitions, however, did not advance his fortune; for he paſſed a wandering life in the greateſt miſery; was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he frequently had recourſe to charity; and, at other times, earned his livelihood by the meaneſt occupations *.

His diſtreſs was ſo great, that he even ventured to implore the aſſiſtance of his couſin Sigiſmond, king of Poland and Sweden, who perſuaded him to enter into the church, and conferred on him an abbey, from the revenues whereof he ſubſiſted for ſome time at Thorn. Induced, however, to quit Poland, from a ſuſ-

* Meſſenius ſays, Tom. VII. p. 10. "Et quamvis ob "nimiam puſillanimitatem, nec ſceptro, nec pedo eſſet "ille idoneus tamen mediocres in litteris fecit progreſſus, "libris annis aliquot indefeſſus in tanta rerum omnium "penuria adhærens, ut interdiu ſcholas frequentaret, noctu "autem in publicis Turoniæ Vilnæque diverſoriis, ſuam "hoſpitibus operam in mundandis ocreis, phaleris, et cu-"randis equis, locando tenuem victum amictumque ſibi "compararet."

picion

picion of Sigiſmond, he accepted the preſſing invitations of the tzar Boris Godunof, who offered his daughter Irene in marriage, and his aſſiſtance to aſcend the throne of Sweden. Guſtavus, allured by theſe promiſes, repaired in 1599 to Moſcow, where he was received with thoſe honours, which, according to the Ruſſian ceremonial, were only paid to ſovereign princes. But the tzar ſoon withdrew his friendſhip; broke off the intended alliance; and, in 1601, removed Guſtavus to Uglitz. It is uncertain whether this change in the tzar's ſentiments was occaſioned by the refuſal of the Swediſh prince to embrace the Greek religion; by his unwillingneſs to enter into hoſtilities againſt Sweden, and to diſmember Eſthonia and Finland in favour of Ruſſia; whether becauſe he appeared a prince of no ſpirit, and too puſillanimous * to proſecute any enterprize with vigour; or becauſe the contract of marriage between John prince of Denmark and the princeſs Irene, made his removal from Moſcow neceſſary. He reſided

* Meſſenius, when praiſing his piety and charitable diſpoſition, adds, "Tantaque fuerit plenus commiſeratione, "ut nè paſſeris quidem, multò minus hominis, intueri "potuerit internecionem. Hincque plus æquo fuerit pu- "ſillanimis, quæ ſubmiſſio mentis, non rarò illius poſuit "fortunæ obſtaculum." Scond. Illuſt. Tom. VIII. p. 100.

at

at Uglitz * until the acceſſion of Demetrius, who impriſoned him at Yaroſlaf for favouring Charles XI. king of Sweden. He was again releaſed by Vaſſili Shuiſki, upon the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, in May 1606, and permitted to reſide at Kaſkin, where he expired in the following year; but whether by poiſon, or by a natural death, is not aſcertained.

March 7. Between Weſteros and Arboga I changed horſes at the ſmall village

* The Swediſh hiſtorians aſſert, that Guſtavus was ſo attached to his native country, that no motives could induce him to enter into hoſtilities againſt it, and that this was the ſole cauſe of his removal. The Ruſſians, on the contrary, affirm, that Boris, finding him a prince without ſpirit and vigour, readily accepted the offer of the prince of Denmark to marry Irene; and therefore ſent Guſtavus to Uglitz. The Ruſſian and Swediſh hiſtorians differ alſo about his ſituation. The former ſay, that Uglitz was granted to him as a fief, and that he reſided there in great ſtate: the latter, that he was treated as a priſoner. Perhaps both are in the right. He might reſide in ſtate, and yet be watched as a kind of ſtate priſoner. As a confirmation of this account of the caſe, Margaret, who was at Moſcow at the time, ſays, "that he was ſent "in diſgrace to Uglitz; but had a revenue aſſigned to him "of £. 800 per annum." Etat de la Ruſſ. p. 96. For the hiſtory of this Guſtavus, ſee Dahlin, Vol. IV. paſſim. Meſſ. Scond. III. paſſim. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. p. 245 and 274. Muller S. R. G. V. p. 95 to 101, and 295.

of Kungſær; where, being tempted by the beauty of the ſituation, I roved about the environs, and upon the banks of the Mæler. This lake is extremely beautiful; it contains ſeveral iſlands rich in wood paſture; its ſhores are hilly, feathered with trees, and diverſified with gentlemen's ſeats and farm-houſes. The lake, at leaſt that part which I ſaw, was ſtill covered with ice, but no longer capable of bearing carriages. It is uſually frozen during a few weeks in winter; and opens an eaſy communication, by means of ſledges, between theſe parts and Stockholm.

Kungſær ſtands upon the mouth of the ſmall river Ulviſon, which flows into the weſtern extremity of the Mæler: this ſtream, which comes from Arboga, helps to form the communication between the lakes Mælar and Hielmar, by its junction with the canal of Arboga. Near Kungſær there is an old wooden building, or kind of palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden, with a menage and ſtables for the royal ſtud. From Kungſær ſtretches, about nine miles, almoſt as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich paſture, which belongs to the king; it is watered by the Ulviſon, and ſkirted with gently riſing hills tufted with wood; produces great quantities of fine hay; and feeds

feeds a large number of cattle. I paſſed, in ſight of this ſmall plain, which is ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, through an undulating country; and arrived at the canal of Arboga, which I croſſed over a draw-bridge. The following inſcription informed me that the ſluice was begun by Charles XI. and finiſhed under the reign of his ſon Charles XII.

" Hoc aquarum repagulum juſſu Auguſtiſ-
" ſimi quondam Suecorum Regis Caroli XI.
" nunc in cœlis beati anno MDCXCI. in-
" choatum, ultimam manum ſceptra gerente
" Suevica Auguſtiſſimo Carolo XII. feliciter
" recepit MDCIC." This canal will be more properly deſcribed in this chapter on the inland navigation of Sweden.

Finding little worthy of notice in Arboga, I haſtened to Orebro, the capital of Nerike, where I paſſed the night: it ſtands near the weſtern extremity of the lake Hielmar; and is the largeſt town which I viſited ſince I quitted Stockholm. Upon a ſmall iſland in the middle of the town, formed by two branches of the Swart, ſtands the caſtle, formerly a royal reſidence: it is an old ſquare building of brick and ſtone white-waſhed, and is appropriated to the governor of the province. The inhabitants of Orebro ſend iron,

iron, vitriol, and red paint to Stockholm; and the trade which they carry on with that capital acroſs the Hielmar and Mæler, by means of the canal of Arboga, is very conſiderable. The town poſſeſſes manufactures of fire-arms, cloth, and tapeſtry. Upon quitting Orebro, I traverſed that part of the province of Nerike, which lies between the lakes Hielmar and Wenner; a fertile diſtrict, abounding in corn, paſture, and foreſt. Towards the cloſe of the day, I entered the province of Weſt Gothland; and paſſed the night in a peaſant's cottage at Hofva, a ſmall place, not far diſtant from the lake Skager.

March 9. About noon I arrived at Marieſtadt, a town built by Charles IX. ſituated upon the Tidla, a ſmall rivulet, and the lake Wenner. A new priſon of brick, ſtuccoed white, makes a finer appearance than any of the other houſes, which are moſtly built with wood, and painted of a red colour. From Marieſtadt I continued my route, for ſome time, at a ſmall diſtance from the Wenner, the largeſt lake in Sweden, being nearly ninety miles in length, and forty in breadth. Its ſhores in this part are low and level, ſo that the view over the ſurface of the water appears boundleſs like a ſea. I paſſed through Lidkioping, the inhabitants whereof carry on a

conſiderable inland trade acroſs the Wenner, and down the river Gotha to Gotheborg. I ſtopped the night at the ſmall village of Malby; and arrived the next morning at Trolhætta, through an exceedingly dreary country, conſiſting chiefly of barren heaths, with ridges of rock almoſt naked, which exhibited few marks of vegetation. This village, containing ſcarcely a dozen houſes, is ſituated cloſe to the cataracts of the river Gotha; and is well known, on account of its ſtupendous works, with a view to open a paſſage for veſſels, by means of a navigable cut, called, from this place, the Canal of Trolhætta.

This canal forms part of a plan, long projected by the Swedes, to unite the Baltic and the German Ocean by an inland navigation; as well for the purpoſe of improving the interior trade of the provinces, as of preventing the interruption of their foreign commerce, which is always the conſequence of a war with Denmark. For as all veſſels ſailing out of the Baltic muſt neceſſarily paſs through the Sound, they are expoſed to the Daniſh privateers, who ſhelter themſelves under the batteries of Elſinoor, which command the paſſage of that ſtrait, unleſs a Swediſh fleet ſhould ride miſtreſs of the Gulf.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus Vaſa was the firſt ſovereign who ſaw the utility of ſuch an inland navigation, when he made Lodeſe (now Gotheborg) a ſtaple town of trade, that the merchant ſhips coming to Sweden might not be obliged to ſail through the Sound; and he conceived hopes, that, in ſome future period, the merchandize might be tranſported from thence to Stockholm, by means of the Wenner, Hielmar, and Mæler, when the rivers and lakes uniting with them ſhould be rendered navigable *. Eric XIV. deſirous to carry his father's deſigns into execution, gave orders for ſurveying the waters communicating with theſe lakes; and directed plans to be formed for joining them by artificial canals †. But the execution of his great ſchemes was fruſtrated by the turbulence and misfortunes of his reign.

Several ſucceeding ſovereigns had this great object in view. Charles IX. promoted it by the Carlſgraf canal; and Charles XI. by that of Arboga. The undertaking, however, of forming a water communication acroſs the whole country, was always conſidered as a work of extreme difficulty. Motraye ſays,

* Dahlin, vol. III. p. 115.

† Hiſt. d' Eric XIV.

that Guſtavus Adolphus was inclined to encourage the deſign; but that no perſon could be found in Sweden bold enough to engage in the enterprize: he adds, that Charles XI. ſent for ſome Dutch engineers, who, after they had meaſured the fall of the waters between the Wenner and the Hielmar, declared it to be impracticable. Difficulties, however inſurmountable as they might appear to perſons of more ſober underſtanding, were no barrier to the genius of Charles XII. The ſame author informs us, that the celebrated engineer, Polhem, laid before that king a propoſal for rendering the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable; and for opening a communication, not only between Gotheborg and Stockholm, but alſo with the Wenner, the Vetter, and Nordkioping, ſufficient for the paſſage of very large veſſels *. Polhem's plan was immediately approved, and begun by Charles, fond of extraordinary projects; and, though interrupted for ſome time by the king's death, was again revived with freſh vigour under the late ſovereign Adolphus Frederic.

This plan may be divided into three principal parts. 1. The junction of the Mæler and the Hielmar. 2. Of the Hielmar with

* Voyages de Motraye, vol. II. p. 282. 306.

the

the Wenner. 3. Of the Wenner with the German Ocean.

1. Of the junction of the Mæler with the Hielmar. Theſe two lakes are united by the ſmall river Ulviſon, and the canal of Arboga. The former riſes to the weſt of Arboga, flows through the town, and falls into the Mæler at Kungſær. The canal of Arboga is cut from the Hielmar, and continued to the Ulviſon about half a mile to the eaſt of the town. It was begun in the reign of Chriſtina; but being only calculated for ſmall veſſels, was widened and deepened by order of Charles XI. and completed under his ſucceſſor Charles XII. It belonged to the crown until 1769; at which period it had been ſo much neglected as to be ſcarcely of any uſe: but a company of ſeven merchants of Orebro undertook to cleanſe and repair it at their own expence, upon condition of receiving the toll of all veſſels which ſhould paſs through it. The canal is, excepting in a few parts, ſufficiently broad to receive two barks a-breaſt: its loweſt depth is 8 feet *. It is chiefly ſupplied with water from the lake Hielmar, the ſurface

* The foot uſed in this chapter is the Swediſh, which differs but little from the Engliſh. The proportion of the Engliſh being to that of the Swediſh as 1027 to 1000.

of which is 80 feet perpendicular higher than its level. It conſiſts of eight ſluices. The veſſels it admits are the ſame which navigate the lakes; they are decked and ſingle maſted; 76 feet long; about 43 tons burden; and draw between ſix and ſeven feet of water.

2. In order to join the Hielmar and Wenner, it was propoſed to open the navigation of the Swart-an, which falls into the weſtern extremity of the Hielmar at Orebro; to make a cut from that river to the lake Morken; from thence by the Letan to the Skager; and from the Skager by the Gullſpang to the Wenner. Not having myſelf been in thoſe parts, I could only obtain the moſt authentic intelligence from perſons who have inſpected them: from their accounts I have reaſon to conclude, that the above-mentioned rivers are for the moſt part ſo ſhallow and ſtony, that it would be extremely difficult and expenſive to render them navigable; and as the faint attempts hitherto made upon the Gullſpang have all failed of ſucceſs; it has been propoſed to cut a canal directly from the lake Morken to Chriſtinehamn, which is ſituated upon the eaſtern ſhore of the Wenner. But as no part of this project had been as yet taken in hand, and the whole would be attended with great difficulties; there is little proſpect that this branch

branch of the great undertaking, the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, will ever be completed *.

3. The junction of the Wenner with the German Ocean comes next into conſideration: and this might be accompliſhed by the river Gotha, which iſſues from the ſouthern extremity of the lake near Wennerſborg, and, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, falls into the ſea near Gotheborg; provided that river could be made navigable throughout its whole courſe. But as, on account of ſhoals and cataracts, its ſtream is greatly impeded, the communication has been attempted by the Carlſgraf canal, the canal of Trolhætta, and the ſluices of Akerſtræm and Edet, which, therefore, I ſhall ſeparately deſcribe.

The channel of the river Gotha not being open and free upon its firſt iſſuing from the Wenner, a cut, from a bay of that lake to the river, was begun under Charles IX. but was not entirely completed before the reign of Charles XII. Polhem, whom I have al-

* From the almoſt inſuperable difficulties attending the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, a plan was projected of forming an inland navigation from the eaſtern coaſt of Sweden ſouth of the Mæler, by means of the Wetter to the Wenner; and in 1774 a map was publiſhed for the purpoſe of proving the ſcheme to be practicable.

ready mentioned, erected, by order of that monarch, a ſluice; which, not being conſtructed upon a firm foundation, was ſcarcely finiſhed before it was undermined, and carried away by the water. From that time the Carlſgraf canal remained without a ſluice, and conſequently without a veſſel paſſing it, until the reign of Adolphus Frederic. In 1754 a new ſluice was finiſhed, which received the appellation of Teſſin, in honour of the prime miniſter of that name. It was formed by a ſubterraneous paſſage, 40 feet long, 18 broad, and 12 high. But theſe dimenſions were too ſmall for the admiſſion of veſſels of more than 40 tons burden; and it frequently happened that even theſe could not paſs whenever there was either too much or too little water. In relief of theſe difficulties another ſluice, called, in honour of the preſent king, the ſluice of Guſtavus, was completed in 1768. This ſuperb work is a cut of 400 feet (half of which was perforated through the ſolid rock), and conſiſts of two locks, each 200 feet in length, and 36 in breadth: the ſides are ſtrongly faced with brick and ſtone. The greateſt depth of water is 13, the loweſt 6 feet. The uſual veſſels which navigate this canal are of 80 tons burden; but when the water is high, larger may paſs:

in

in 1777 one of 133 tons worked its way through.

From the end of this canal to the village of Trolhætta, which includes a ſpace of about five miles, the navigation of the river is uninterrupted: it flows in a gentle current; varies in its breadth from 300 yards to a mile; and is, in a few parts, prettily ſprinkled with iſlands, ſome whereof are barren rock, others tufted with wood and covered with arable ſoil. Near Trolhætta two ridges of mountains, which on each ſide run at a ſmall diſtance from the river, approach its banks, and confine its ſtream in a narrow channel. In this ſpot it is about 400 feet in breadth, as ſmooth as a lake, and without any viſible ſtream: a fine contraſt to the roaring of the torrent below. This ſmoothneſs of the water continues till it burſts at once into the cataracts of Trolhætta, called the Gulfs of Hell, which render all farther navigation impoſſible. The bed of the river is ſolid rock; the banks are perpendicular; and, at the beginning of the fall, ſeveral granite iſlands, thinly ſtrewed with underwood, junipers, and ſtubbed pines, riſe in the midſt of the ſtream, forming ſmall ſtraits, down which the water daſhes with increaſing impetuoſity.

From

From the firſt opening of the fall to the part where the river again becomes navigable, is about two miles; but it does not roll through the whole of this ſpace in one uniform ſheet of water, or with equal rage and violence. It is divided into four principal cataracts, each whereof is ſeparated by whirlpools and eddies; forming, during the whole way, the moſt awful ſcenes, ever varying, and too ſublime to be accurately deſcribed. The perpendicular height of all the falls, conſidered as one, is about 100 feet. From this deſcription the reader will readily conceive the extreme difficulty of rendering theſe cataracts navigable; and yet it was even through the midſt of them that the daring projector attempted to form a canal, by the following works, which are marked in the annexed plan.

Juſt above the firſt cataract, called Praſtenkeſdet Fall, ſeveral dams were conſtructed, which turned the ſtream, and left the main bed of the river quite dry. In this part ſome rocky iſlands were cut through, or blown up; the bed was rendered level, and the cataract nearly turned into ſtill water. To continue the navigation, an iſland of red granite, called Malg, which riſes in the midſt of the great cataract, was divided; and a canal formed through it of 340 feet in length, including a

ſluice

ſluice of 30: the depth of the fall, and, of courſe, the depth of the perforated rock, is $23\frac{1}{3}$ feet; the breadth 18. This is called Ekerbrad ſluice, and was deſigned to conſiſt of two locks. At a ſmall diſtance another canal was formed on the ſide of the ſecond great cataract, through a kind of promontory which projects into the ſtream; the ſolid granite was hollowed 860 feet in length, $56\frac{1}{2}$ in depth, and 18 in breadth. This ſluice, called Polhem's ſluice, was to conſiſt of three locks, by which veſſels were to be let down a fall of $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the diſtance of 2920 feet, a third cut was made cloſe to Flateberg's fall, terminating in the ſluice of Elvius, the laſt of this projected plan. The length of the cut is 28 feet; the breadth 18; and the depth or height of the fall $34\frac{1}{4}$. In order to form ſome idea in what manner the navigation was to be continued from the ſluice of Polhem to that of Elvius, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort delineation of the intervening ſpace.

A little below the ſluice of Polhem the river daſhes through a narrow paſs called Stampſtræm; from thence it gradually widens into a kind of bay, named Hoyon's Warp: it is again cramped into a narrow channel by the nearer approach of the rocks on each ſide, and

and forms a cataract, called Helvert's Fall; at the extremity of which it expands itſelf into a ſmall baſon, called Oli-Halla; and then again precipitates itſelf at Flateberg's Fall; from whence it becomes navigable. Inſtead of continuing any works through the cataracts, or by the ſide of the river, the communication between the ſluices of Polhem and Elvius was attempted in the following manner. A dyke of ſtone was conſtructed acroſs the river juſt below Flateberg's Fall and the ſluice of Elvius, with a view of raiſing the water 34 feet and $\frac{1}{4}$, turning its courſe through the ſluice of Elvius, and forming a level with the bottom of that of Polhem. This chimerical project, which ſeems rather too ridiculous to have been ſeriouſly entertained, was however attempted. The king himſelf viſited the work; and all Sweden was in eager expectation, that their favourite national hopes would at length be realized. The dyke was built; the river had riſen 12 feet of the 34; when, in an inſtant, the weight of waters burſt the barrier, too feeble to reſtrain them; and ſwept away, in one moment, the labours and expence of ſeveral years*. Large ſubſidies

* The immenſity of the expence will be beſt conceived by conſidering that all the cuts were made through the ſolid granite, the hardeſt of all ſtones.

had

had been annually raiſed for the proſecution of the work; and the national bank had readily advanced ſtill greater loans; the ſum total whereof has never been divulged. The failure of the project, after ſuch immenſe labour and enormous expence, occaſioned great diſcontents among the people; many of whom to this day believe, though there ſeems no foundation for the ſuppoſition, that the projectors, bribed by the Danes, purpoſely proceeded upon a plan which they knew could not ſucceed. But thus much is evident, that, throughout the whole undertaking, the works, ſtupendous in themſelves, were conducted without reaſonable care and attention; for after all, the cuts, which had been excavated with ſuch difficulty, being only 18 feet in breadth, would have been too narrow to have admitted veſſels of ſuch ſize and burthen as uſually navigate the Wenner. In a word, ſeveral ill-judged meaſures ſeem to have been taken; otherwiſe, although there were many natural obſtructions to the ſucceſs of the enterprize, yet greater obſtacles have been ſurmounted. But Polhem was not a Brindley.

In conſequence of this failure, all the works and ſluices hitherto raiſed were neglected, as totally uſeleſs, and a new plan for the canal

of Trolhætta has been projected; according to which, inſtead of being carried, as before, along the channel of the river, it is to be cut through the ſolid rock that forms its banks. The plan of this laſt project is laid down in the annexed engraving. The length is to be 4700 feet, the breadth 36, and the depth in ſome parts above 50. It is to conſiſt of nine ſluices; and when we reflect that the whole of this cut muſt be hollowed through the red granite, it is evident that it will be attended with as many, if not more difficulties, than were experienced in the former attempt. It muſt by no means, however, be condemned as impracticable. The canal of the duke of Bridgewater, that of Languedoc, and the road through the mountain Gemmi in Switzerland, prove that ſcarcely any thing is impoſſible to human induſtry.

The chief queſtion, in this reſpect, ſeems to be; whether the enormous expence attending the execution of the work would be compenſated by the advantages reſulting from its completion. And here, if we merely take into conſideration the navigation from the Wenner to Gotheborg, we may venture to decide in the negative. But if we preſume, that at any future period the communication ſhould be formed from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Wenner;

ner; as in that caſe the cataracts of Trolhætta would be the only remaining interruption to the inland navigation from the eaſtern to the weſtern coaſt of Sweden, the accompliſhment of this canal could not ſurely be obtained at too dear a rate.

His preſent majeſty, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, viſited theſe works at Trolhætta, wiſely ordered them for the preſent to be ſuſpended; but that the ſluices of Guſtavus and Aker ſhould be finiſhed without delay. Meanwhile, in order to facilitate the tranſport of the merchandize from the diſtricts bordering upon the Wenner to Gotheborg, a wooden road has been conſtructed on the ſide of the river, from the beginning to the end of the cataracts. It is ſupported upon poſts over the rocks, which, from their irregularity and roughneſs, would have been almoſt impaſſable for horſes.

About a mile below the cataracts, the courſe of the Gotha is again interrupted by a fall, called Akerſtræm: there a canal has been made through a rock which projected into the river; the length of it is 182 feet, including the ſluice; depth 26; and breadth 36. This cut was begun in 1774; it was far advanced when I ſaw it, and, it was expected, would be opened in 1781.

From Akerſtræm the river is clear to Gotheborg, excepting at Edet, where its paſſage is ſtopped by a bed of rocks riſing in the midſt of the ſtream. On one ſide of theſe rocks another cut has been made, 600 feet in length; 20 in depth, but only 18 in breadth. The work is ill executed; and, when I was there, was in bad order. A petition had been preſented to the king, that it might be repaired and improved to the ſame breadth as Akerſluice; and there was no doubt of its being effected.

The iron and other merchandize, is now tranſported acroſs the lake to Wennerſborg; and from thence through the Carlſgraf canal, and down the river Gotha to Trolhætta. Upon coming to the cataracts, the goods are unloaded, and carried over the wooden road about two miles to the end of the falls. There they are again embarked, and paſſing through the Akerſtræm and Edet ſluices, upon a ſuppoſition that they are by this time completed, arrive without further impediment at Gotheborg. In return, ſalt, ſpices, corn, tea, and other commodities of interior conſumption, are ſent up by the ſame channel into the provinces about the Wenner.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Gotheborg.—*Its trade.*—Eaſt India *Company.*—*Herring Fiſhery.*—*General remarks on the commerce of* Sweden.—*Journey from* Gotheborg *to* Carlſcrona.—*Cottages, food, manners, &c. of the peaſants.*

THE ſcenery of the country from Trolhætta to Gotheborg is wild and romantic beyond deſcription. Innumerable ridges of barren rocks ſtretch in all directions; and between them lie the moſt fertile plains, which ſeldom exceed a mile in breadth, watered by the river Gotha: The mountains, which are compoſed of granite, are entirely deſtitute of trees, and many of them ſcarcely exhibit the ſmalleſt appearance of vegetation. In this part of Sweden I obſerved none of thoſe detached fragments of granite, which ſo abundantly overſpread as well many of its inland provinces, as the coaſt bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia.

In moſt places the river flows with a gentle current, and in a narrow channel; and is in ſome parts navigable only for ſmall craft of about 20 tons burden. About ten miles from Gotheborg it divides itſelf into three branches;

two of which unite again after having encircled a ſmall rocky iſland, upon the top of which ſtands the fort of Bohus; a pictureſque object, much celebrated in the early hiſtory of Sweden, and at that time eſteemed impregnable. The ſtream formed by the union of theſe two branches is called the Northern River, and falls into the ſea after a courſe of about ten miles. The third branch, which I followed to Gotheborg, retains its original name of Gotha: the ſpace included between the Northern River and the Gotha is named the iſland of Hiſingen.

Gotheborg, which is diſtinguiſhed by a commodious port, ſtands near the ſite of an ancient town, named Lodeſe, that was built by Guſtavus Vaſa; and being endowed with conſiderable privileges, ſoon became the great emporium for the trade of the weſtern provinces. Charles IX. when duke of Gothland, having, in 1604, laid the foundations of a new town in the iſland of Hiſingen at no great diſtance from Lodeſe, called it Gotheborg, in honour of his duchy. Upon his acceſſion to the throne, he erected in his new town a trading company; drew thither many foreigners, particularly the Dutch, to whom he allowed an exemption from all duties of export and import during twenty years; a

corps of Engliſh and Scotch troops, under the command of William Stewart; and granted to the Calviniſts eſtabliſhed therein the free exerciſe of their religion, the firſt place in Sweden where this toleration was permitted. By theſe means Gotheborg ſoon became a flouriſhing port*; and, next to Stockholm, the moſt commercial town in Sweden. The town, being in 1611 reduced to aſhes by the Danes, was rebuilt in the reign of Guſtavus Adolphus in its preſent ſituation; and obtained a confirmation of its antient rights, with the grant of ſeveral additional privileges.

Gotheborg is built in a very ſingular ſituation. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſea is a marſhy plain, ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Moldal, and almoſt entirely incloſed with high ridges of rocks; ſo bare and rugged,

* A medal was ſtruck in 1610, comparing this ſudden increaſe of Gotheborg to the growth of a tree from a ſlip: on one ſide the king's name and title, with an inſcription, "Gotheb. Prin. Fund. & Condit." On the reverſe a large tree, from which hang ſuſpended the arms of Gotheborg beneath are the river Gotha, and the fortreſs Elfſborg, with the following motto:

Quæ præbet latas arbor ſpatiantibus umbras,
Quo poſita eſt primum tempore virga fuit.

Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 422.

that they ſcarcely produce a ſingle blade of graſs, and exhibit as barren an appearance as the ſummits of the loftieſt Alps. Gotheborg ſtands partly upon the ridges, and partly in the plain; and is divided, from theſe different ſituations, into the Upper and Lower Town. The latter is entirely level, interſected by ſeveral canals in the manner of the Dutch towns; and its houſes are all conſtructed upon piles: the upper part hangs on the declivities; and rows of buildings riſe one above the other like the ſeats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified; and its circumference is near three miles, excluſive of the ſuburbs, called Haga, which lie towards the harbour. The ſtreets are all uniformly ſtraight: a few of the houſes are of brick; but the generality are conſtructed with wood painted red. The harbour is formed by two chains of rocks, and is about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its entrance is defended by the fort of New Elfſborg, which ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, and contains a garriſon of 250 men.

There has been lately eſtabliſhed at Gotheborg, a Royal Society of Sciences and Literature, upon the plan of that of Upſala. Its Acts, which are written in the Swediſh tongue, and printed in the octavo form, contain various ſubjects in the ſeveral branches of

of ſcience, natural hiſtory, antiquities, hiſtory, and polite letters *.

I was informed by a merchant who had reſided two and twenty years at Gotheborg, that, during that period, its population has increaſed conſiderably, and that it now contains about 20,000 inhabitants. This flouriſhing ſtate is undoubtedly owing to the extenſion of its commerce, particularly its Eaſt India Company, and the ſucceſs of the herring fiſhery.

In 1731 a company of merchants was eſtabliſhed, with the excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies for 15 years; and after various alterations of their charter, the monopoly was, at the laſt renewal, confirmed for 20 years, on condition that the company ſhould advance to government a loan of £. 124,980, one third whereof without intereſt; and ſhould pay £. 3,125 for every veſſel proceeding on a trading voyage to the Eaſt Indies. This company is merely a ſociety of merchants, who ſend annually two or three veſſels to China. As the port of Stockholm, in the Gulf of Bothnia, is cloſed

* At Lund was alſo inſtituted, in 1776, a Royal Phyſiographical Society, which was incorporated by the king in 1778. The ſubjects treated of in its Acts relate only to natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, and agriculture.

with ice until the ſeaſon is too far advanced for ſhips to take their departure from thence to the Eaſt Indies, the company carries on its commerce from Gotheborg, whoſe harbour, being ſituated in the German ocean, is more open. The following is the nature of this traffic: Sweden containing little ſpecie, and few manufactures for exportation, the captain of each veſſel firſt proceeds to Cadiz, where he borrows, in the company's name, 100,000 piaſtres, at the intereſt of 30 per cent.; he then ſails to Canton, and purchaſes tea, porcelain, and other Chineſe commodities, which, upon his return to Sweden, are diſpoſed of to great advantage. The uſual net profit upon the whole cargo being 70 per cent.; the gain, when the intereſt is deducted, amounts to about 40 per cent.

In 1740, the herrings, which had hitherto never approached the weſtern ſhore of Sweden, flocking in ſhoals to that coaſt, the inhabitants of Gotheborg eſtabliſhed a fiſhery, which has been attended with conſiderable advantage. Its increaſing produce will appear from the following table:

In

In 1752 it yielded only 1000 barrels * of herrings.

In 1753 -	20,766	In 1762 -	142,091
1754 -	52,828	1763 -	186,614½
1755 -	74,791	1764 -	99,616¼
1761 -	117,212¼	1768 -	151,483

An Engliſh conſul and ſeveral merchants of our nation reſide at Gotheborg; and a chapel, with a regular chaplain, is appropriated to their uſe.

As I did not remain a ſufficient time in Sweden to gain accurate and circumſtantial information concerning the commerce; I can only add the following particulars.

By the navigation act paſſed in the diet of 1722, foreign veſſels are not allowed to bring into Sweden any productions but thoſe of their own countries, or to tranſport them from one port to another. The principal exports of Sweden are copper, iron, ordnance ſtores, maſts, planks, pitch and tar, train-oil, alum, pot-aſh, ſalt-petre, gunpowder, ſalt, ſalted fiſh, ſoap, vitriol. Its imports, tin, lead, grain, tobacco, ſnuff, wines, hardware, ſilk and ſilken ſtuffs, paper, tea and coffee, ſugar, ſpices, drugs, thread, hemp, wool. Cantz-

* A barrel contains 1000 herrings.

ler*, whoſe accurate account of Sweden cannot be too much recommended to the curious reader, informs us, that of the export trade Stockholm carries on $\frac{7}{13}$, Gotheborg $\frac{2}{13}$, and the other ſtaple towns $\frac{4}{13}$; and of the import commerce, Stockholm $\frac{1}{2}$, Gotheborg $\frac{1}{4}$, and the other towns $\frac{1}{4}$.

As the diſtricts which I paſſed from Upſala to Trolhætta are eſteemed the fineſt and moſt populous parts of Sweden; thoſe which I traverſed from Gotheborg to Carlſcrona, through the province of Smoland, are ſaid to be the wildeſt, leaſt inhabited, and the moſt uncultivated regions of this kingdom. The diſtance between Gotheborg and Carlſcrona is 38 Swediſh, or 247 Engliſh miles; and in this extent of ground only one place dignified with the name of a town preſented itſelf. The villages, for the moſt part, conſiſted of ſix or ſeven houſes; and ſometimes, where I ſtopped to change horſes, I found nothing but a ſingle ſolitary cottage: yet, along this ſeemingly inhoſpitable track, I met with good roads, tolerable accommodations, and a cheerful and contented peaſantry.

March 15. I quitted Gotheborg, and paſſ-

* Memoires ſur les Affaires Polit. et Econom. de Suede, p. 374.

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ed over a ſucceſſion of barren rocks with few trees, ſimilar to thoſe which ſtretch along the coaſts of the German Ocean near Gotheborg. As I advanced, the country became ſomewhat more fertile. Hills of granite appeared leſs frequent; but large maſſes were ſcattered over the face of the country. The region which I traverſed in this and the following day, though wild, and not capable of much cultivation, was yet infinitely diverſified. It was an hilly diſtrict, in many parts overſpread with foreſts of pines, beech, and oak; interſperſed with paſture and ſmall plains of arable land; ſprinkled with ſeveral pictureſque lakes; and watered by numberleſs rivulets, clear as chryſtal, and gurgling over their ſtony channels.

During one poſt of this day's route I was driven by a peaſant's daughter; and as the roads were in many parts exceedingly ſteep, it required ſome ſtrength, and much dexterity, to direct the horſes, and to prevent the carriage from being overturned; I propoſed that my ſervant, who was an expert driver, ſhould take the reins: the girl, however, offended at my queſtioning her ſkill, peremptorily rejected my propoſal; and, placing herſelf in the poſtillion's ſeat, drove off at full ſpeed, governing the horſes in ſuch a ſkilful man-

ner, that ſhe ſoon quieted my apprehenſions, and we arrived at the end of the poſt without the ſlighteſt alarm; nor was I for the future in the leaſt apprehenſive of truſting myſelf to the guidance of a Swediſh country girl.

I paſſed the night at Hunnaryd in a peaſant's cottage, and ſet off early in the morning; but had not proceeded far before I was obliged to ſtop at Giſlavy, to repair a wheel of my carriage: the place contained but one ſmith, and he had lately become blind; and as none of the wheels in the village would fit the axle-tree, I purchaſed a new axle-tree and four wheels, for the ſum of £. 1. 16 s. upon which the body of my cart being placed, I proceeded on my journey. A little beyond Giſlavy, I croſſed a rivulet near an iron foundery. The native ore is procured in ſmall round pieces, about the ſize of pea-ſhot, from the bottom of a neighbouring lake, and forged into excellent iron.

Soon afterwards, I quitted the mountainous diſtrict; and deſcended gradually into a ſandy plain, diverſified with woods, lakes, and corn-fields. About ſeven miles from Vernamo, where I took my ſtation for the night, I again came into a hilly country, and advanced to Wexio; a town ſeated upon the banks of a pleaſant lake, which contained a group

group of woody iſlands. The town, though a biſhop's ſee, is exceedingly ſmall: the houſes are moſtly of wood; the inhabitants chiefly ſubſiſt by the traffic in cattle, that graze in the luxuriant paſtures, with which the intervals of the moſt barren mountains and extenſive foreſts are occaſionally enriched.

As in the courſe of this route I conſtantly took my repaſt during the day, and paſſed every night in the cottages; I had frequent opportunities of obſerving the cuſtoms, manners, and food of the peaſants. Upon entering a cottage, I uſually found all the family employed in carding flax, ſpinning thread, and in weaving coarſe linen, and ſometimes cloth. The peaſants are excellent contrivers, and apply the coarſeſt materials to ſome uſeful purpoſe. They twiſt ropes from ſwines' briſtles, horſes' manes, and bark of trees, and uſe eel-ſkins for bridles. Their food principally conſiſts of ſalted fleſh and fiſh, eggs, milk, and hard bread. At Michaelmas they uſually kill their cattle, and ſalt them for the enſuing Winter and Spring. Twice in the year they bake their bread in large round cakes, which are ſtrung upon files of ſticks, and ſuſpended cloſe to the cielings of the cottages. They are ſo hard as to be occaſionally broken with a hatchet, but are not unpleaſant,

unpleaſant. The peaſants uſe beer for their common drink, and are much addicted to malt ſpirits. In the diſtricts towards the weſtern coaſts, and at no great diſtance inland, tea and coffee are not unuſually found in the Swediſh cottages; which are procured in great plenty, and at a cheap rate, from Gotheborg.

The peaſants are well clad in ſtrong cloth of their own weaving. Their cottages, though built with wood, and only of one ſtory, are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family ſleep is provided with ranges of beds in tiers (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf), one above the other: upon the wooden teſters of the beds in which the women lie, are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they aſcend by means of ladders. To a perſon who has juſt quitted Germany, and been accuſtomed to tolerable inns, the Swediſh cottages may perhaps appear miſerable hovels; to me, who had been long uſed to places of far inferior accommodation, they ſeemed almoſt palaces. The traveller is able to procure many conveniences, and particularly a ſeparate room from that inhabited by the family, which could ſeldom be obtained in the Poliſh and Ruſſian villages. During my courſe through thoſe two

two countries, a bed was a phænomenon which ſeldom occurred, excepting in the large towns, and even then not always completely equipped; but the pooreſt huts of Sweden were never deficient in this article of comfort: an evident proof that the Swediſh peaſants are more civilized than thoſe of Poland and Ruſſia. After having witneſſed the ſlavery of the peaſants in thoſe two countries, it was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to find myſelf again among freemen, in a kingdom where there is a more equal diviſion of property; where there is no vaſſalage; where the loweſt order enjoy a ſecurity of their perſons and property; and where the advantages reſulting from this right are viſible to the commoneſt obſerver.

On the 18th at noon I quitted the province of Smoland, and entered that of Blekinge. As I approached the ſhores of the Baltic towards Carlſcrona, ridges of granite again made their appearance, ſometimes bare, ſometimes covered with heath, or clothed with foreſt. About half a mile from Carlſcrona we came upon a fine view of that town, ſtanding in an iſland.

During a fortnight's progreſs from Stockholm to Carlſcrona, through a tract of about 500 Engliſh miles, the weather was ſo clear, dry, and delightful, that I felt no inconvenience from performing the journey in an open

open cart. There was a gentle froſt at night and morning; but the remaining part of the day was cheered with a genial ſun. The Spring, indeed, of that year was remarkably forward and exceedingly mild. The port of Carlſcrona, which is frequently cloſed with ice until the month of April, was open early in March. The peaſants of Upland and Weſtmanland ſeldom till their lands before April *; but I obſerved, during my paſſage through thoſe provinces in the beginning of March, that the huſbandmen had already begun to plough the fields, and to ſow their barley and oats. The rapid progreſs of vegetation in theſe northern regions was extremely viſible from the quick ſhooting of the paſture and young corn, which, though the ſnow had only been melted three weeks, were in a flouriſhing ſtate.

I was greatly ſurprized to find that Sweden would produce ſufficient grain for the interior conſumption of the inhabitants; if ſuch large quantities were not employed in the diſtillation of malt ſpirits. The northern parts of Sweden and Finland produce excellent rye; and the ſouthern provinces yield wheat, oats, and barley. The wheat and rye are ſown in

* Am. Acad. p. 372; alſo Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 153.

the

the middle of Auguſt, and are reaped in the ſame month of the following year. Barley and oats are conſigned to the ground in Spring immediately upon the melting of the ſnow: the former is cut down towards the end of Auguſt; and the oats about the middle of September.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Carlſcrona.—*New docks.*—Swediſh *fleet.*—*Sailors.*—Chriſtianſtadt.—Helſingborg.—*General remarks on the mode of travelling in* Sweden.—*Poſt-horſes.*—*Roads.*—*Similarity between many general expreſſions in the* Engliſh *and* Swediſh *tongues.*

CARLSCRONA derives its origin and name from Charles XI. who firſt laid the foundations of a new town in 1680; and removed the fleet from Stockholm to this place, on account of its advantageous ſituation in the center of the Swediſh ſeas, and the ſuperior ſecurity of its harbour. The greateſt part of Carlſcrona ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, which riſes gently in a bay of the Baltic; the ſuburbs extend over another ſmall rock, and along the mole cloſe to the baſon where the fleet is moored. The way into the town from the main land is carried over a dyke to an iſland, and from thence along two long wooden bridges joined by a barren rock. The town is ſpacious, and contains about 18,000 inhabitants. It is adorned with one or two handſome

handſome churches, and a few tolerable houſes of brick; but the generality of buildings are of wood. The ſuburbs are fortified towards the land by a ſtone wall. The entrance into the harbour, which by nature is extremely difficult from a number of ſhoals and rocky iſlands, is ſtill further ſecured from the attack of an enemy's fleet by two ſtrong forts built on two iſlands, under the batteries of which all veſſels muſt paſs.

During our ſtay at Carlſcrona, we received great civilities, and were entertained in the moſt hoſpitable manner by many perſons of the firſt diſtinction; and had no difficulty in obtaining permiſſion to inſpect the dock-yard, and the whole fleet.

Formerly veſſels in this port, when careened and repaired, were laid upon their ſides in the open harbour, until a dock, according to a plan given by Polhem, was hollowed in the ſolid rock: it was begun in 1714, and finiſhed in 1724; but, as it was too ſmall for the admiſſion of men of war, it has lately been enlarged, and is now capable of receiving a ſhip of the firſt rate. Its dimenſions are in length 190 Swediſh feet; in depth 33; and in breadth 46. It contains 300,000 cubic feet of water, and is uſually emptied in ten hours. Ninety men are employed in

pumping at the ſame time, and are relieved every half hour by the ſame number. This being at preſent the only receptacle for the repairing of ſhips, new docks have been begun upon a ſtupendous plan worthy of the antient Romans. According to the original ſcheme, it was intended to conſtruct thirty docks, for building and laying up the largeſt ſhips, at the extremity of the harbour.

A large baſon, capable of admitting two men of war, is deſigned to communicate, by ſluices, with two ſmaller baſons, from each of which are to extend, like the radii of a circle, five rows of covered docks: each row is to be ſeparated by walls of ſtone; and each dock to be provided with ſluice-gates, ſo as to be filled or emptied by means of pumps. Cloſe to the docks, magazines for naval ſtores are to be conſtructed, and the whole to be encloſed with a ſtone wall.

The project, begun in 1757, was much neglected until the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, who warmly patroniſed the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the works, £. 25,000 were annually expended upon them; which ſum has been leſſened to about £. 6,000 per annum; and the number of docks reduced to twenty.

The following was the ſtate of theſe works in March 1779.

The firſt large baſon was finiſhed. Its dimenſions are 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth and 32 in depth. The greateſt part has been hollowed out of the rock, which was perforated under water; and the excavations filled with gunpowder, introduced and exploded through hollow tubes. The rock being thus blown up and removed, the bottom and ſides were afterwards ſmoothed, cemented with puzzulana brought from Naples, and nicely finiſhed to an even ſurface. Three of the ſides are faced with hewn granite; and the fourth is defended from the violence of the waves by a pier of the ſame material. The two entrances into the ſmaller baſons were nearly completed, and the ſluice-gates, of a ſingular conſtruction, were building: they are hollow machines; and are ſo contrived, that, when filled with water, they afford a paſſage to the ſhip by ſinking, and riſe again when emptied. The principle of mechanics by which they act is ſomewhat ſimilar to that of the kameels, employed in conveying large veſſels over the bars at Amſterdam and Peterſburgh *. The two ſmaller baſons, formed

* See Vol. III. p. 340.

by excavations of the rock, and of a ſemi-circular ſhape, were partly finiſhed.

With reſpect to the docks, the materials were prepared for their conſtruction; and the rock in ſome places had been blown away, and in others the earth had been removed. The bottom of one was already completed; its ſhape was elliptical; the platform and lower part of the walls were compoſed of hewn granite, and cemented with puzzulana; and the ſtones, upon which the keel of a new ſhip was to be laid down, were adjuſted. It was expected that this dock would be entirely covered in before the end of 1779. It was computed, that one new dock would be annually finiſhed; and that in twenty years this grand undertaking would be carried into execution. The water will be introduced, and pumped out, by windmills, or by hands, as occaſion requires.

The primary view and intention of this grand plan was to obtain dry docks, for the purpoſe of keeping the whole fleet entirely covered from wind and weather. It has, however, been a queſtion much agitated in Sweden, whether large veſſels are not more effectually preſerved in water, than when ſecured in dry docks; a ſolution of which can only be given by perſons well experienced in naval

naval affairs. But ſhould this be allowed, yet theſe docks will ſtill be greatly ſerviceable for the conſtruction and repairing, if not for the preſervation of ſhips.

The ſhips are built at Carlſcrona, chiefly by Engliſh artiſans. Though the provinces of Blekinge and Skone abound with oaks, yet, as there is not a ſufficiency for a continued ſupply, the Swedes procure their ſhip-timber from Germany. They made their two laſt contracts with the king of Pruſſia; the firſt for 400,000 Swediſh cubic feet*; the laſt for 200,000. The latter were delivered in 1778, at the rate of 5*s.* 10*d.* per cubic foot. They are ſupplied from their own territories with maſts and deals, pitch and tar, and the greateſt part of the flax uſed in the navy; and manufacture their own ropes and ſails from hemp chiefly imported from Riga. They caſt their own cannon, and make their own gunpowder with Swediſh ſaltpetre. The harbour of Carlſcrona, in which the Swediſh fleet lies at anchor, is large and commodious, with depth of water ſufficient for ſhips of the firſt rate to carry their lower tier of guns.

Upon paper, the Swediſh navy, in 1779, amounted to 30 ſhips of the line, including

* 1000 Swediſh feet = 1027 Engliſh feet.

thoſe of 40 guns, and 15 frigates, beſide gallies, prames, and xebecs. But as ſeveral of theſe veſſels were very old and exceedingly out of repair, we could not eſtimate thoſe fit for ſervice at that period to have been more than 20 ſhips of the line, and 10 frigates.

Though I was not able to obtain a complete catalogue of the whole navy; yet the following liſt of all the ſhips then in commiſſion, and fitting out for a cruiſe in the Baltic in 1779, the æra of the armed neutrality, will help to ſupply the deficiency.

Veſſels fitting out in March 1779.

Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
Sophia Magdalena, new	74	Vaſa, new	60
Guſtavus III. new	74	Upland, ſtationed at Gotheborg	40
Prince Guſtavus	74	Jaramas	40
Gotha Lyon	74	Swart Orn	40
King Adolphus Frederic	70	Illerin, bound to Morocco	36
Frederic Adolphus, new	64	Prince Guſtavus, new	32
Sophia Albertina	64	Trolle, in Finland	32
Enigheten	64	Erenſvard, in Finland	32
Finland	60		

The ſeamen belonging to government are regiſtered, and amount to 18,000: of theſe ſome receive their pay in money; and others are diſtributed in the ſame manner as the national militia, ſmall portions of land in the iſlands and upon the ſea-coaſt being aſſigned to them for their ſubſiſtence. Of theſe 18,000 ſailors, according to the moſt favourable accounts,

counts, only about 6000 are reputed to be experienced ſeamen: the reſt are mere peaſants. Upon an emergency, the king enjoys the power of preſſing ſailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the regiſtered ſeamen.

At Carlſcrona I rejoined my companions, whom I had quitted at Stockholm; exchanged my open cart for a more commodious vehicle; and continued my journey from thence to Helſingborg, which cloſes my travels in Sweden. Our route lay through the provinces of Blekinge and Skone. For the firſt two or three poſts the country was hilly and rocky, and covered with foreſt; afterwards it changed to a level and fertile plain. Our road lay near the ſhore; and we had many fine ſea-views, with numerous rocks and ſmall iſlands ſcattered in all directions. About twelve miles from the village of Felkinge, where we took our ſtation for the night, we entered Skone, called by foreigners Scania, the moſt level and the moſt fertile of all the Swediſh provinces. We paſſed through Chriſtianſtad, a ſtrong fortified town, built in 1614 by Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, when this province belonged to the Danes; and finally ceded to the Swedes, by the peace of Roſkild, in 1658. The town is ſmall, but neatly built,

and is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Sweden. The houſes are all of brick, and moſtly ſtuccoed white. It ſtands in a marſhy plain cloſe to the river Helge-a, which flows into the Baltic at Ahus, about the diſtance of 20 miles, and is navigable only for ſmall craft of 7 tons burden. Engliſh veſſels annually reſort to this port for alum, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants have manufactures of cloth and ſilken ſtuffs; and carry on a ſmall degree of commerce.

A little beyond Chriſtianſtadt, as we approached the coaſts of the Sound, the country roſe into ſmall inequalities, covered at intervals with trees: the ſoil was chiefly ſand mixed with vegetable mould. We arrived, late in the evening of March the 21ſt, at Helſingborg, the place of embarkation upon the Sound for Denmark.

Before I conclude my travels into Sweden, I ſhall throw together a few remarks upon the mode of travelling, and other general heads, which I had no occaſion to touch upon in a particular manner.

Travelling in Sweden is perfectly commodious to a perſon acquainted with the uſual method of procuring horſes. At the different towns and villages upon the high roads, poſt-horſes are not always regularly ſtationed; but if

if the traveller ſends forward a peaſant to appoint relays, at a certain ſtipulated place and time, his orders are punctually executed. The neglect of this precaution has cauſed frequent delays to inexperienced foreigners, as it did to us upon our firſt arrival in the country; for we were obliged to wait at each poſt-houſe until horſes could be obtained from the adjacent villages. The uſual practice of ſupplying poſt-horſes is regulated in a manner very convenient and cheap to travellers, yet extremely burdenſome to the natives *. All perſons

* Cantzler makes the following judicious remarks upon this ſubject. In enumerating the obſtacles to the improvement of agriculture in Sweden, he mentions, among others, "Les voiturages publics et le tranſport des voyageurs, à faire tour-à-tour par les payſans aſſignés aux relais de poſte les plus voiſins. Ceux-ci ſont extrêmement onéreux aux cultivateurs, obligés, chacun au moins trois fois par mois, d'envoyer un valet ou garçon avec un ou deux chevaux à l'endroit de relais, qui leur eſt aſſigné, pour s'y tenir une journée entiére prêt au tranſport des poſtes, ſans que les payſans en reçoivent aucune compenſation, à moins qu'il ne ſurvienne de voyageur. Cette corvée s'appelle Hollsſkjuts et il s'y perd chaque fois un jour et demi. Mr. Modeer, ſecretaire de la ſociété patriotique, ſupposè 700 endroits de relais dans tout ce royaume, et ſept chevaux journellement aſſignés à chaque endroit de relais. En ne comptant même que 300 endroits de relais, et 4 chevaux pour chacun, ce qui fait 1200 chevaux par jour, ou 432,000 chevaux

perſons poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure are bound to ſend one or more horſes, two or three times in the month, to the neighbouring poſt-houſe: if they are not wanted, they return, after waiting 24 hours, without any compenſation for their labour and loſs of time; and, if employed, receive a very inadequate recompence *. I found, indeed, travelling ſo exceedingly cheap in Sweden, that, during a courſe of 500 miles, from my departure from Stockholm to my arrival at Carlſcrona, my whole expences, including the prime coſt of my cart, the hire of poſt-horſes, the gratuities to the drivers, and the accommodations on the road, did not amount to £. 20, although my Swediſh ſervant occa-

" chevaux par an, à 360 jours, cette ſorte de corvées cauſe " pour l'agriculture une perte annuelle de 216,000 jour- " nées d'ouvrage à faire par un valet et deux chevaux." See Cantzler's Memoires, &c. p. 202.

* When we firſt entered Sweden, we only paid 16 ſtivers = 5*d.* for each horſe per Swediſh mile from the towns, and 12 ſtivers, or = $3\frac{3}{4}$*d.* from the villages: this price was ſo exceedingly low, that at the laſt diet the ſtates increaſed it: the new regulation took place on the 16th of March 1779; from which time 24 ſtivers = 10*d.* was paid in the towns for each horſe for a Swediſh mile, and 16 or 5*d.* in the villages. Even, according to this advanced price, the higheſt ſum is not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* and the loweſt not a penny, per horſe, for an Engliſh mile.

ſionally

ſionally taxed me with want of œconomy. The drivers being the peaſants themſelves, who uſually attend with their own horſes, are contented with a ſmall acknowledgment of about 2*d.* or 3*d.* for each poſt. The horſes are ſmall, but lively and active; two were uſually the complement for my cart; and they went generally at the rate of ſix or ſeven miles in an hour: the poſtilion never rode, but ſat upon a ſmall bench at the extremity of the cart.

The high roads of Sweden wind agreeably through the country, are made with ſtone or gravel, and are as good as our turnpikes in England; and yet not a ſingle toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; and, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining their reſpective portions, ſmall pieces of wood, or ſtone, marked with numbers and capital letters, are placed at different diſtances on each ſide of the way.

In no kingdom, ſince I quitted England, have I obſerved ſo many ſeats ſcattered over the face of the country as I perceived in Sweden; where the gentlemen of moderate fortunes, as with us, are accuſtomed to reſide upon their eſtates in rural plenty. Theſe ſeats, being compoſed of an aſſemblage of wooden

wooden buildings, and painted red, make a neat appearance: occupying a large extent of ground, they look, at ſome diſtance, like ſmall villages, and contribute greatly to the ornament of the country: they are moſt frequent near the lakes; and are not uncommonly ſituated, in the midſt of hanging woods, or broken rocks ſuſpended over the water.

During my progreſs through this kingdom, I could not avoid being ſtruck with a ſurpriſing reſemblance between the Engliſh and Swediſh languages, not only in ſingle words, but in whole phraſes, ſo that a quick Engliſh ear may comprehend many expreſſions in common converſation. Among other inſtances of this kind, I heard the poſtilions cry out, "Come, let us go;"—"let us "ſee;"—"ſtand ſtill;"—"hold your "tongue;"—"go on *." I naturally inquired their meaning of my interpreter, and found that they had the ſame ſignification as in our own language. They are for the moſt part pronounced more like the Scottiſh † than the

* Theſe words are thus written in the Swediſh tongue: "*Kom let oſs go*"—"*Let oſs ſe*"—"*Stand ſtill*"—"*Hold* "*din tunga*"—"*Go an.*"

† A Swediſh gentleman of my acquaintance made the ſame remark during a tour in Scotland; that there was a much

the Engliſh accent; and indeed, in general, the Swedes appeared to me as if they were talking broad Scotch. Nor is this any matter of wonder; for it is probable, that the Scottiſh mode of ſpeaking is the ſame as was formerly uſed in England; and that, while we have gradually ſoftened our pronunciation, the Scots have retained it. With reſpect to the ſimilarity between the Swediſh and Engliſh tongues ‡, we may remark that they are both dialects of the Teutonic or German: and if in pronunciation they reſemble more to each other than to their original ſtock, it is owing to this circumſtance; that we are certainly deſcended from the Swedes and Danes, whoſe languages are only different dialects; and the old Saxon, which gave riſe to the Engliſh, was probably firſt introduced into our iſland by ſettlers, or invaders, from theſe northern kingdoms.

much nearer reſemblance between the Scotch and Swediſh, than between the Swediſh and Engliſh, both in words and general pronunciation. The ſame gentleman alſo informed me, that there are ſeveral obſolete Swediſh words which are very common in Scotland.

‡ That the affinity between the Swediſh and Engliſh languages was more obvious in former times, appears from an anecdote mentioned in p. 130 of this volume.

TRAVELS

INTO

DENMARK.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

Paſſage of the Sound. — *Entrance into* Denmark. — Elſinoor. — *Toll of the Sound.* — Cronborg *caſtle and palace.* — *Anecdote of queen* Matilda.—Hamlet's *garden.*—*Hiſtory of* Hamlet *from* Saxo-Grammaticus.—Copenhagen. — *Preſentation at court.* — *Iſle of* Amak.

MARCH 22. At Helſingborg we embarked for Denmark, and croſſed the Sound, which ſeparates that kingdom from Sweden. The wind blew freſh, and was directly contrary; but by tacking we reached Elſinoor in an hour and an half: the direct diſtance between the neareſt points of the two

two coaſts is about three miles. Midway we had a fine view of the two ſhores, with the towns of Helſingborg and Elſinoor; the former crowned by an antient tower; the latter diſtinguiſhed by the palace of Cronborg, a leſs romantic, but no leſs beautiful, object. The ſhores of Sweden to the north of Helſingborg are ſteep and rocky; but decreaſe in height towards the ſouth, and become low and flat. Thoſe of Zealand conſiſt of ridges of ſand.

Elſinoor is a well-built town, and makes a better appearance than thoſe to which we had lately been accuſtomed: the houſes are of brick, ſimilar to thoſe in the United Provinces. It was a ſmall village, containing a few fiſhermen's huts, until 1445, when it was made a ſtaple town by Eric of Pomerania; who conferred upon the new ſettlers conſiderable immunities, and built a caſtle for their defence *. From that period it gradually increaſed in ſize and wealth; and is now the moſt commercial place in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It contains about 5000 inhabitants, amongſt whom are a conſiderable number of foreign merchants, and the conſuls of the principal nations trading to the

* Meſſenii Scandia Illuſtrata, Lib. III. p. 50.

Baltic. The paſſage of the Sound is guarded by the fortreſs of Cronborg, which is ſituated upon the edge of a peninſular promontory, the neareſt point of land from the oppoſite coaſt of Sweden. It is ſtrongly fortified towards the ſhore by ditches, baſtions, and regular entrenchments; and towards the ſea by ſeveral batteries, mounted with 60 cannon, the largeſt whereof are 48 pounders. Every veſſel, as it paſſes, lowers her top-ſails, and pays a toll at Elſinoor. It is generally aſſerted, that this fortreſs guards the Sound; and that all the ſhips muſt, on account of the ſhoal waters and currents, ſteer ſo near the batteries, as to be expoſed to their fire, in caſe of refuſal. This, however, is a miſtaken notion. On account, indeed, of the numerous and oppoſite currents in the Sound, the ſafeſt paſſage lies near the fortreſs; but the water in any part is of ſufficient depth for veſſels to keep at a diſtance from the batteries; and the largeſt ſhips can even ſail cloſe to the coaſt of Sweden. The conſtant diſcharge, however, of the toll, is not ſo much owing to the ſtrength of the fortreſs, as to a compliance with the public law of Europe. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the right by which the crown of Denmark impoſes ſuch a duty. The kings of Sweden,

in particular, claiming an equal title to the free paſſage of the Strait, were for ſome time exempted by treaty from paying it; but in 1720, Frederic I. agreed that all Swediſh veſſels ſhould, for the future, be ſubject to the uſual impoſts. All veſſels, beſide a ſmall duty, are rated at $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their cargoes, except the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Swediſh, which pay only one per cent.; and in return, the crown takes the charge of conſtructing light-houſes, and erecting ſignals to mark the ſhoals and rocks, from the Categate to the entrance into the Baltic. The tolls of the Sound, and of the two Belts, ſupply an annual revenue of above £.100,000.

The palace of Cronborg, which ſtands in the fortreſs, is a ſquare Gothic building of free-ſtone: as appears from an inſcription over the gate, it was begun by Frederic II. and has been ſince repaired and augmented by ſucceeding ſovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular deſcription, excepting two good portraits of Frederic II. and his ſon Chriſtian IV. and ſeveral battle-pieces, repreſenting the wars of Chriſtian V.

In this palace was impriſoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement ſhe inhabited the governor's apartment,

ment, and had permiſſion to walk upon the ſide-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reaſon to apprehend, that the party which had occaſioned her arreſt meditated ſtill more violent meaſures. When the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his ſpirited conduct; ſhe was ſo ſurprized with the unexpected intelligence, that ſhe inſtantly burſt into a flood of tears, embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a ſhort conference, the miniſter propoſed, that her majeſty ſhould immediately embark on board of a ſhip that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom in which ſhe had experienced ſuch a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious ſhe was to depart, one circumſtance checked the exceſs of her joy: a few months before her impriſonment ſhe had been delivered of a princeſs, whom ſhe ſuckled herſelf. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and ſhe had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the conſtant companion of her miſery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the meaſles; and, having nurſed it with unceaſing ſolicitude, ſhe was deſirous of con-

tinuing her attention and care. All theſe circumſtances had ſo endeared the child to her, rendered more ſuſceptible of tenderneſs in a priſon than in a court; that when an order for detaining the young princeſs was intimated to her, ſhe teſtified the ſtrongeſt emotions of grief, and could not, for ſome time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after beſtowing repeated careſſes upon this darling object of her affection, ſhe retired to the veſſel in an agony of deſpair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child that had been ſo long her only comfort, until darkneſs intercepted the view. The veſſel having made but little way during night, at day-break ſhe obſerved with fond ſatisfaction that the palace was ſtill viſible; and could not be perſuaded to enter the cabin as long as ſhe could diſcover the fainteſt glimpſe of the battlements. It is well known that her majeſty reſided at Zell, where ſhe was carried off, by a ſcarlet fever, on the ſixteenth day of her illneſs. Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively diſpoſition, until her misfortunes brought on a ſettled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company ſhe endeavoured to diſſemble her ſorrows, and aſſume a cheerfulneſs

to

to which her heart was a ſtranger. She became extremely fond of ſolitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the moſt bitter lamentations. She retained, to her laſt moments, the moſt unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent ſhe made repeated inquiries after them; and was delighted with receiving the minuteſt accounts of their health, amuſements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, ſhe placed them in her moſt retired apartment; often apoſtrophized them as if they were preſent *; and addreſſed them in the tendereſt manner.

Adjoining to a royal palace, which ſtands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden, which our curioſity led us to viſit; as it is called Hamlet's Garden; and is ſaid, by tradition, to be the very ſpot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The houſe is of modern date, and is ſituated at the foot of a ſandy ridge near the ſea. The garden occupies the ſide of the hill, and is laid out in terraſſes riſing one above another. Elſinoor is the ſcene of Shakeſpeare's Hamlet; and the original hiſtory from which that

* I received this anecdote from a perſon at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting ſcene.

divine author derived the principal incidents of his play is founded upon facts, but ſo deeply buried in remote antiquity, that it is difficult to diſcriminate truth from fable. Saxo-Grammaticus, who flouriſhed in the 12th century, is the earlieſt hiſtorian of Denmark, that relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforeſt, a French author; an Engliſh tranſlation of whoſe romance was publiſhed under the title of the "Hiſtorye of Hamb-"let*:" and from this tranſlation Shakeſpeare formed the ground-work of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

As Saxo-Grammaticus is an author whoſe works are in the hands of but few perſons, and as I never met with an Engliſh tranſlation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a ſhort ſketch of Hamlet's Hiſtory, as recorded in

* The only copy I ever ſaw of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakeſpeare, given by the late Mr. Capell to that ſociety. It is in black letter, entitled, The Hyſtorye of Hamblet; Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier.—The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's poſthumous work, the School of Shakeſpeare, Vol. III. p. 90.; and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnſon's and Steevens's Shakeſpeare.

the

the Daniſh Annals *, that the reader may compare the original character with that delineated by Shakeſpeare.

Long before the introduction of Chriſtianity into Denmark, Horwendillus, Prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Geruthra, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric king of Denmark, by whom he had a ſon, called Amlettus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and aſcends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealouſy, counterfeits folly; and is repreſented as ſuch an abhorrer of falſehood, that, though he conſtantly frames the moſt evaſive and even abſurd anſwers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, ſuſpecting the reality of his madneſs, endeavours, by various methods †, to diſcover the real ſtate

* Sax. Gram. Lib. III. and IV.

† Among other attempts, Fengo orders his companions to leave him in a retired ſpot, and a young woman is placed in his way, with a view to extort from him a confeſſion that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the ſnare, if a friend had not ſecretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carries the woman to a more ſecret place, and obtains her promiſe not to betray him; which ſhe readily conſents to, as ſhe had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being aſked, upon his return home, if he had indulged his paſſion, he anſwers in the affirmative; but renders himſelf not believed

ſtate of his mind; amongſt others, he departs from Elſinoor, concerts a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that the former would not conceal his ſentiments from his own mother; and orders a courtier to conceal himſelf, unknown to both, for the purpoſe of overhearing their converſation.—The courtier repairs to the queen's apartment, and hides himſelf under a heap of ſtraw*. Hamlet, upon entering the cabinet, ſuſpecting the preſence of ſome ſpy, imitates, after his uſual affectation of folly, the crow of a cock; and, ſhaking his arms like wings, jumps † upon the

lieved by the moſt artful ſubterfuges, which, though true, ſeemed evidently to mark a diſordered underſtanding, and by the poſitive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell obſerves, "is grounded Shakeſpeare's Ophelia; "and his deliverance from this ſnare by a friend, ſug- "geſted his Horatio"—"the rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of thoſe characters." "But in this "piece there are no traits of the character of Polonius: "there is, indeed, a counſellor, and he places himſelf in "the queen's chamber behind the arras; but this is the "whole. The ghoſt of the old Hamlet is likewiſe the "offspring of our author's creative imagination." See Capell's School of Shakeſpeare, vol. III. p. 20.; and Malone's Supplement, p. 353.

* The reader will recollect, that ſtraw uſed formerly to be ſpread over the floors as an article of great luxury.

† This part ſtands thus in the Engliſh account: "The "counſellor entered ſecretly into the queene's chamber, "and

the heap of ſtraw, till, feeling the courtier, he draws his ſword, and inſtantly diſpatches him. He then cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only perſonated a fool; reproaches her for her inceſtuous marriage with the murderer of her huſband; and concludes his remonſtrances by ſaying, "Inſtead, therefore, of condoling my inſanity, deplore your own infamy, and learn to lament the deformity of your own mind *." The queen is ſilent; but

"and there hid himſelfe behind the arras, and long before the queene and Hamlet came thither: who being craftie and politique, as ſoone as he was within the chamber, doubting ſome treaſon, and fearing, if he ſhould ſpeake ſeverely and wiſely to his mother, touching his ſecret practiſes, hee ſhould be underſtood, and by that means intercepted, uſed his ordinary manner of diſſimulation, and began to come (r. crow) like a cocke, beating with his arms (in ſuch manner as cockes uſed to ſtrike with their wings), upon the hangings of the chambers, whereby, feeling ſomething ſtirring under them, he cried, *a rat! a rat!* and preſently drawing his ſworde, thruſt it into the hangings; which done, he pulled the counſellor (half deade) out by the heels, made an end of killing him; and, being ſlain, cut his body in pieces, which he cauſed to be boiled, and then caſt it into an open vault or privie." Malon's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 357.

* The cloſet ſcene, which is ſo beautiful in Shakeſpeare's Hamlet, is thus conciſely, but not leſs finely, deſcribed by the Daniſh hiſtorian:

"Cumque

but is recalled to virtue by theſe admonitions. Fengo returns to Elſinoor; ſends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers; and requeſts the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet diſcovers and alters the letter; ſo that, upon their arrival in England, the king orders the two courtiers to immediate execu-

" Cumque mater magno ejulatu queſta præſentis filii ſo-
" cordiam deflere cæpiſſet: 'quid,' inquit, mulierum tur-
" piſſima graviſſimi criminis diſſimulationem falſo lamenti
" genere expetis, quæ ſcorti more laſciviens nefariam ac
" deteſtabilem thori conditionem ſecuta viri tui interfecto-
" rem pleno inceſti ſinu amplecteris: et ei qui prolis tuæ
" parentem extinxerat obſcœniſſimis blandimentorum ille-
" cebris adularis. Ita neppe equæ conjugum ſuorum vic-
" toribus maritantur. Brutorum natura hæc eſt; ut in
" diverſa paſſim conjugia rapiantur: hoc tibi exemplo pri-
" oris mariti memoriam exoleviſſe conſtat. Ego vero non
" ab re ſtolidi ſpeciem gero, cum haud dubitem quin is qui
" fratrem oppreſſerit, in affines quoque pari crudelitate
" debacchaturus ſit: unde ſtoliditatis quæ induſtriæ habi-
" tum amplecti præſtat, et incolumitatis præſidium ab ex-
" tremâ deliramentorum ſpecie mutuari. In animo tamen
" paternæ ultionis ſtudium perſeverat; ſed rerum occaſio-
" nes aucupor, temporum opportunitates opperior. Non
" idem omnibus locus competit. Contra obſcurum im-
" mitemque animum altioribus ingenii modis uti convenit.
" Tibi vero ſapervacuum ſit meam lamentari deſipientiam,
" quæ tuam juſtius ignominiam deplorare debueras. Ita-
" que non alienæ ſed propriæ mentis vitium defleas neceſſe
" eſt. Cætera ſilere memineris." Tali convitio lacera-
" tam matrem ad excolendum virtutis habitum revocavit,
" præteritoſque ignes præſentibus illecebris præferre do-
" cuit."

tion;

tion; and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many aſtoniſhing proofs of a moſt tranſcendent underſtanding. At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance; as a report of his death had been ſpread, and preparations were making for his funeral. Having re-aſſumed his affected inſanity, he purpoſely wounds his fingers in drawing his ſword, which the by-ſtanders immediately faſten to the ſcabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment; makes them intoxicated; and in that ſtate covers them with a large curtain, which he faſtens to the ground with wooden pegs: he then ſets fire to the palace; and the nobles, being enveloped in the curtain, periſh in the flames. During this tranſaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and, taking the ſword which lay by the ſide of his bed, puts his own in its place; he inſtantly awakens, and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo ſtarts from his bed, ſeizes the ſword, but, being unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were aſſembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet ſummons the remaining nobles, and in a maſterly ſpeech, which is too long to inſert in this place, lays open

open the motives of his own conduct; proves his uncle to have been the aſſaſſin of his father; and concludes in the following words: "Tread "upon the aſhes of the monſter, who, pol- "luting the wife of his murdered brother, "joined inceſt to parricide; and ruled over you "with the moſt oppreſſive tyranny. Receive "me as the miniſter of a juſt revenge, as one "who felt for the ſufferings of his father "and his people. Conſider me as the perſon "who has purged the diſgrace of his country; "extinguiſhed the infamy of his mother; "freed you from the deſpotiſm of a monſter, "whoſe crimes, if he had lived, would have "daily increaſed, and terminated in your de- "ſtruction. Acknowledge my ſervices; and "if I have deſerved it, preſent me with the "crown: behold in me the author of theſe "advantages; no degenerate perſon; no parri- "cide; but the rightful ſucceſſor to the "throne; and the pious avenger of a father's "murder. I have reſcued you from ſlavery; "reſtored you to liberty; and re-eſtabliſhed "your glory; I have deſtroyed a tyrant, and "triumphed over an aſſaſſin. The recom- "pence is in your hands; you can eſtimate "the value of my ſervices; and in your virtue "I reſt my hopes of reward." This ſpeech has the deſired effect; the greater part of the aſſembly

aſſembly ſhed tears; and all who are preſent unanimouſly proclaim him king amid repeated acclamations.

Hamlet, ſoon after his elevation, ſails to England, and orders a ſhield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are repreſented. The king receives him with feigned demonſtrations of joy; falſely aſſures him that his daughter is dead; and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his embaſſador, and to pay his addreſſes to the queen Hermetruda. He gives this inſidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may periſh in the attempt; as the queen, who was remarkable for her chaſtity and cruelty, had ſuch an averſion to all propoſals of marriage, that not one of her ſuitors had eſcaped falling a ſacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in oppoſition to all difficulties, performs the embaſſy; and, by the aſſiſtance of his ſhield, which inſpires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wiſdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England. Informed, by the princeſs to whom he had been betrothed, that her father meditates his aſſaſſination; Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe; puts to death the king of England; and ſails to Denmark with his two wives,

where he is ſoon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, ſon of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the hiſtorian, was a prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deſerts, would have rivalled the gods in ſplendour; and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules*.

The diſtance from Elſinoor to Copenhagen is about 20 miles; our route lay occaſionally by the ſide of the ſea, ſometimes through ſmall woods of beech and oak, and at other times through an open country riſing into acclivities: the ſoil is ſandy mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all ſorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-waſhed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid ſeveral tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Ruſſia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the cloſe of the evening.

Copenhagen ſtands upon a ſmall promontory on the eaſtern coaſt of the Iſle of Zealand; the ſite is flat, and rather marſhy. It formerly belonged to the biſhop of Roſkild, and was

* Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui ſi parem naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus fuiſſet, æquaſſet fulgore ſuperos; Herculea virtutibus opera tranſcendiſſet.

not

not diſtinguiſhed by the royal reſidence until 1443, during the reign of Chriſtopher of Bavaria; ſince which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

The Annual liſt of births in Copenhagen being, upon an average of ſeveral years, eſtimated at 2830, and of deaths at 2955, we may compute that it contains near 80,000 inhabitants.

Copenhagen is the beſt-built city of the north: for although Peterſburgh excels it in ſuperb edifices, yet as it contains no wooden houſes, it does not diſplay that ſtriking contraſt of meanneſs and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more equable and uniform appearance. The town is ſurrounded towards the land with regular ramparts and baſtions, a broad ditch full of water, and a few outworks: its circumference meaſures between four and five miles. The ſtreets are well paved, with a foot-way on each ſide, but too narrow and inconvenient for general uſe. The greateſt part of the buildings are of brick; and a few are of free-ſtone brought from Germany. The houſes of the nobility are in general ſplendid, and conſtructed in the Italian ſtyle of architecture; the palace, which was erected by Chriſtian VI. is a large pile of building; the

the front is of ſtone, and the wings of brick ſtuccoed: the ſuite of apartments is princely; but the external appearance is more grand than elegant.

The buſy ſpirit of commerce is viſible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crowded with merchant-ſhips; and the ſtreets are interſected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize cloſe to the warehouſes that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that deſtroyed five churches and ſixty-ſeven ſtreets, which have been ſince rebuilt in the modern ſtyle. The new part of the town, raiſed by the late king Frederic V. is extremely beautiful: it conſiſts of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn ſtone, and of four broad ſtreets leading to it in oppoſite directions. In the middle of the area ſtands an equeſtrian ſtatue of Frederic V. in bronze, as big as life, which is juſtly admired. It was caſt at the expence of the Eaſt India Company by Saly, and coſt £. 80,000 ſterling.

On the 25th of March we accompanied Mr. Delaval, our miniſter, to court; and were honoured with private audiences by his majeſty Chriſtian VII. the queen dowager Juliana-Maria, her ſon prince Frederic, and his conſort the princeſs Sophia-Frederica. We were deprived of the honour of paying our reſpects

reſpects to the prince royal, as he was at that time indiſpoſed. During our ſtay at Copenhagen there were only two public meetings at court: the company aſſembled about ſix o'clock in the evening. At one of theſe meetings was a concert, in which a Daniſh tranſlation of Pergoleſi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original muſic, was performed. His majeſty afterwards ſat down to Loo with the queen dowager, prince Frederic, princeſs Sophia, count Bernſdorff the prime miniſter, and the Pruſſian embaſſador.

As our ſtay at Copenhagen was very ſhort, and principally during paſſion-week, which the natives obſerve with great ſtrictneſs, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hoſpitality of the Daniſh nobility; though they were much inclined to honour us with all thoſe marks of attention and civility which are uſually paid to ſtrangers. Amongſt other inſtances of politeneſs, we received an invitation to an aſſembly and ſupper from count Molck, who was favourite and prime miniſter to the late king Frederic V. The count's houſe, which ſtands in the octagon, is a magnificent building ſuperbly furniſhed. He poſſeſſes ſeveral fine pictures. His collection of foſſils, ſhells, minerals, and petrefactions, deſerves the notice of the naturaliſt: it is particularly rich

in native productions of Denmark; and exhibits many fine ſpecimens of the gold, ſilver, and copper mines, from Norway; and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the moſt curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Muſeum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the firſt place. This collection, which was begun by Frederic III. is depoſited in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals; ſhells; minerals; paintings; antiquities; medals; dreſſes; arms and implements of the Laplanders. The ſhort time which I employed in examining theſe apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curioſities, which the reader will find deſcribed in *Muſeum Regium Jacobæi*.

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Chriſtianſhafen, is built upon the iſle of Amak, which generally attracts the curioſity of foreigners. Amak is about four miles long, and two broad; and is chiefly peopled by the deſcendants of a colony from Eaſt Frieſland, to whom the iſland was conſigned by Chriſtian II. at the requeſt of his wife Elizabeth, ſiſter of Charles V. for the purpoſe of ſupplying her with vegetables, cheeſe and butter. From the intermarriages of theſe colonies with the Danes, the preſent inhabitants are chiefly de-

ſcended; but as they wear their own dreſs, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a diſtinct race from the natives. The iſland contains about ſix villages, and between 3 and 4000 ſouls. It has two churches, in which the miniſters preach occaſionally in Dutch and Daniſh. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the king's court of juſtice at Copenhagen. The old national habit, brought by the original colony when they firſt migrated to the iſland, is ſtill in uſe amongſt them. It reſembles the habit of the antient quakers, as repreſented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemiſh painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the ſame colour, looſe at the knee, and tied round the waiſt. The women were dreſſed chiefly in black jackets and red petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The iſland is laid out in gardens and paſtures; and ſtill, according to the original deſign, ſupplies Copenhagen with milk, butter, and vegetables.

CHAP. II.

Form of government antiently eſtabliſhed in Denmark.—*Cauſes and events which preceded and effected the revolution of* 1660.—*Change of the conſtitution from an elective and limited, to an hereditary and abſolute, monarchy.*

UNTIL the middle of the laſt century the crown of Denmark was elective. The ſupreme legiſlative authority reſided in the three eſtates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, aſſembled in a diet by means of their repreſentatives; and the executive power was veſted in the king, and ſenate, compoſed of the principal nobles. The king was little more than preſident of the ſenate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumſcribed by a capitulation or charter of privileges, which the ſovereign ſigned at his acceſſion. Although the crown was always continued in the ſame family, and uniformly conferred upon the eldeſt ſon; yet the new prince was conſtrained to purchaſe his ſucceſſion to the throne by the grant of farther immunities.

Such

Such was the ſtate of affairs until the ſingular revolution of 1660 eſtabliſhed, almoſt without the concurrence of the ſovereign, an hereditary and abſolute monarchy; exhibiting an inſtance, which ſtands unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory, of a people, who ſpontaneouſly renounced their freedom, and inveſted their limited governor with the moſt unbounded authority. The incidents and circumſtances which occaſioned ſo ſurprizing a revolution are too important to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Frederic III. who, upon the death of his father Chriſtian IV. aſcended the throne by the free election of the ſtates, ſigned a charter of rights, conſiſting of 54 articles; among which ſeveral new privileges were confirmed to the ſenate, whereby they were enabled to engroſs nearly to themſelves the whole adminiſtration of affairs. Frederic poſſeſſed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equable temper of mind, acquieſcing in every event with perfect compoſure, and apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have ſcarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But as, during his reign, the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at ſtake; and he was called to action by the moſt im-

minent danger which a ſovereign could experience, he ſuddenly ſurmounted his natural coldneſs: his mind acquired unuſual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perſeverance, not inferior to the moſt conſummate heroes of his time. Theſe circumſtances ſerved to place his character in an exalted point of view; while, at the ſame time, his gentleneſs and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to be conceived by a free people againſt their ſovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of any intereſted deſigns, and yet equal to the taſk of carrying the moſt adventurous into execution; he became, from the accidental ſituation of his affairs, the innocent inſtrument of accompliſhing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Daniſh government.

When Charles Guſtavus of Sweden broke the treaty of Roſkild, which he had juſt ſigned; and in 1658 appeared ſuddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army; he eſteemed himſelf ſo ſecure of ſucceſs, that he made a preſent of Zealand to admiral Wrangel. He even publicly boaſted, that he would unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in his own perſon; and would then march, like another Alaric, into Italy, at the head of the Gothic nations. The internal

internal weakneſs and civil commotions of Denmark ſeemed almoſt to juſtify theſe proud vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the ſafety of Copenhagen; and yet, ſuch was the deplorable condition of that capital, that Frederic was adviſed to retire from a place which ſeemed abſolutely untenable, and to make his eſcape either to Holland or Norway. For, the fortifications had been long neglected; it contained a garriſon of only a thouſand regular troops; had not ſufficient proviſions to ſtand a ſiege; was almoſt deſtitute of every means of reſiſtance; and crouded with inhabitants and fugitives of all ranks. But that monarch, of whoſe military capacity no expectation could be formed, rouſed by this dangerous criſis of affairs, diſcovered at once the moſt undaunted courage: he declared his reſolution of defending his capital to the laſt extremity; and, rather than be a witneſs to its ſurrender, of burying himſelf under its ruins. His conduct during the ſiege anſwered theſe profeſſions; he gave his orders with calmneſs and intrepidity; he was among the firſt in all places of danger; and among the laſt who retreated. His zeal was ſeconded by the undaunted ſpirit of his queen, Sophia Amelia, princeſs of Brunſwic Lunenburgh *,

* Memoires de Terlon, p. 333.

who, during the whole conteſt, was indefatigable in animating the beſieged: ſhe partook of their fatigues; rode night and day round the ramparts; and obſerved every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolneſs of a veteran. The preſence and activity of both their ſovereigns gave freſh vigour to the garriſon and citizens of Copenhagen: they braved every danger; and even bound themſelves, by an oath, to periſh, rather than ſurrender the capital. Their zeal was ſtill further raiſed by the policy of Frederic, who extorted from the nobles an increaſe of the citizens immunities; and paſſed an edict, ſigned by himſelf and the principal ſenators, permitting them to poſſeſs lands, and to enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themſelves into companies; and vied with the regular ſoldiers in ſubmitting to the rigour of military diſcipline. In a word, by their invincible ſpirit, Copenhagen held out from the 8th of Auguſt 1658, to the concluſion of the peace, on the 27th of May 1660, when the Swediſh army evacuated Zealand.

Upon the ſignature of this treaty a diet was ſummoned at Copenhagen, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, exhauſted with debts, and deſolated by the miſeries of war.

war. The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark had no ſooner ſubſided, than Frederic relapſed into his conſtitutional indolence; and ſeems, if we may judge from the moſt authentic accounts, to have had but a ſmall ſhare in the ſubſequent revolution. It appears, indeed, to have been as caſual as it was ſudden: the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealouſies and reſentments of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people had conceived of their king, to whom they juſtly imputed the preſervation of Copenhagen, and the ſafety of the kingdom; while they attributed to the violence and factions of the nobles all the evils which they had lately experienced.

The diet, which was the laſt ever convened in Denmark, aſſembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September 1660. The nobles, inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate the other orders by a moderate conduct, increaſed the public diſcontents by the moſt arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united againſt them; and the citizens of Copenhagen, who, having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital, formed a very conſiderable party, were highly diſguſted with them for remonſtrating

ſtrating againſt the immunities granted by the king during the ſiege. In this ſtate and temper of the parties, when the neceſſary ſupplies were brought forward, the nobles propoſed an exciſe upon all articles of conſumption *; and expreſſed themſelves willing to ſubmit to it, although their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonſtrance to the king, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obſolete privileges, but to add freſh immunities; and to introduce many other regulations which tended to diminiſh the royal prerogative, and to check the riſing influence of the two eſtates of the commons and clergy. The propoſal of ſuch a tax, and this imprudent remonſtrance, excited great heats in the diet: the clergy and commons contended that the offer was inſidious; as the nobles would only pay the exciſe during their reſidence in the towns, and refuſed ſubmitting to it while

* All the Daniſh hiſtorians agree in this circumſtance, that the nobles offered to tax themſelves; therefore Lord Moleſworth is wrong, when he ſays, "the nobility, ac-"cording to their uſual practice, debated how the ſums of "money requiſite might, with greateſt eaſe and convenien-"cy, be levied upon the commons, without the leaſt in-"tention of bearing any proportionable ſhare themſelves." Account of Denmark, p. 32. See Mallet, Hiſt. de Dannemarc, III. p. 446.

they

they reſided upon their eſtates. Upon this ground they objected to the tax itſelf in its preſent form; nor would admit it on any other condition, than that it ſhould be levied equally upon all ranks without any reſerve or reſtriction. The nobles not only perſiſted in the plea of exemption; but even refuſed to be ſubject to it for more than three years, under the pretence that every impoſt was an infringement of their privileges. Being however intimidated by the deciſive refuſal of the other deputies, they ſhifted their ground; propoſed new duties upon ſtamped paper and leather; and offered, inſtead of the exciſe upon conſumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peaſants. The clergy and commons at firſt approved theſe additional impoſts; but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a ſum adequate to the wants of the nation. It is not certain from what cauſe this alteration of their ſentiments was derived *; whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too ſhort a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were ſecretly deſirous of obtaining more eſſential and durable advantages againſt the nobles. Probably all theſe motives operated

* Mallet, p. 447.

upon

upon different perſons: the latter eſpecially ſeems to have had great influence; becauſe, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies propoſed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles had excluſively poſſeſſed at a very moderate rent, ſhould be farmed to the higheſt bidders. This propoſal irritated the nobles, who juſtly deemed it an infraction of their deareſt privileges; as, by the 46th article of the coronation oath taken by Frederic, the poſſeſſion of the royal fiefs was guarantied to their order. In the heat of the conteſt upon this article, one of the chief ſenators imprudently threw out reproachful expreſſions againſt the commons, which raiſed ſuch a general ferment in the aſſembly, that the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this ſtruggle the friends of the court began to interpoſe. It was eaſily ſeen, that the deputies were ſo diſguſted with the nobles, that they would cheerfully embrace that occaſion of humbling the whole order; and no way ſeemed more likely to enſure ſucceſs than rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative upon the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that ſo favourable an opportunity ſhould again occur: the diet was aſſembled in a fortified town; the citizens

were ſtill in arms; and all of them, as well as the garriſon, were devoted to the king.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to trace, at this diſtance of time, all the ſecret ſprings which actuated the deputies upon this extraordinary occaſion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two perſons who had the principal ſhare in the revolution were the creatures of the court; and had, previouſly to the meeting of the diet, preconcerted ſomething of a general plan of lowering the nobility, with a confidential * ſervant of the crown. Theſe perſons were Svane, biſhop of Zealand and preſident of the order of the clergy, and Nanſen, burgomaſter of Copenhagen and ſpeaker of the commons: we have no reaſon however to conclude that they intended to proceed further than to humble the ariſtocratical party, and to make ſome neceſſary changes in the conſtitution; but the obſtinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies, not only to think of rendering the crown hereditary, but of veſting the whole power in the hands of the king. While the deſign was in agitation, Frederic felt, or affected to feel,

* Moleſworth ſays, with Hannibal Seheſted, and Holberg with Gabel the king's favourite. Probably they were both in the right, as it is eaſy to ſuppoſe that both were conſulted on the occaſion.

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an almoſt total indifference to the event; and though he expreſſed himſelf inclined to accept the offer of an hereditary ſucceſſion, if it could be obtained by the unanimous conſent of all the eſtates; yet he refuſed to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The queen endeavoured to rouſe him from this ſupineneſs; but her influence, which had never before been exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, ſhe caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons; and diſplayed that ſpirit of intrigue and daring enterprize, which had ſo long marked her character, in contraſt with the mild and paſſive acquieſcence of the king.

Upon the ſeceſſion of the deputies, which the obſtinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was firſt ſuggeſted by the biſhop of Zealand; and ſeveral partizans being gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace, on the 6th of October, in which the ſcheme was laid open and approved. An act for declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up; and the beſt method of publicly producing it was taken into conſideration. The mode of proceeding was now concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel the favourite of the king, who held

held a ſeparate conference with the biſhop and Nanſen that very afternoon. During the whole night and the following day repeated meſſages paſſed between ſome of the deputies and the emiſſaries of the queen; as the king ſtill continued neutral, and could not be prevailed upon to take any active ſhare in an event which ſo nearly concerned him.

On the morning of the 8th of October *, the biſhop of Zealand, having obtained the conſent and ſignature of the eccleſiaſtical deputies to the declaration of hereditary ſucceſſion, delivered it to Nanſen. The latter, in a moſt perſuaſive ſpeech, expatiated upon the wretched ſtate of the kingdom, the oppreſſive power of the nobles, and the virtues of the king; and concluded with exhorting the commons to ſubſcribe the act as the only means of ſaving their country. Having firſt ſigned it himſelf, his example was followed by each deputy without one diſſenting voice.

During theſe intrigues the nobles remained in full ſecurity, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion; as the commons had, the ſame day in which they ſigned the declaration, debated upon the taxes, and drawn up a remonſtrance againſt the nobles, without any alluſion to the more ſecret tranſ-

* Holberg, III. p. 479.

action.

action. On the 9th this remonſtrance was preſented in form to Frederic by the biſhop and Nanſen; and as they were returning from the palace they had a violent altercation with the ſame chief ſenator, who had before offended the commons, and who then threatened them with impriſonment for preſuming to approach the king without acquainting the order of nobles. This threat ſerved only to fix them the more firmly in their reſolution; and the ſingle circumſtance which now remained was, to conſult upon the ſureſt means of extorting the aſſent of the nobles.

Rumours of this project had by this time reached them; but they had ſcarcely aſſembled to conſider the moſt efficacious methods of rendering it ineffectual *, before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall, and, having taken their ſeats, Nanſen, after a ſhort ſpeech, delivered to them the declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in his majeſty's family. The nobles, in ſome degree apprized that ſuch a meaſure was intended, were nevertheleſs thrown into a general conſternation by its being communicated to them in ſo ſudden and deciſive a manner. Conceiving it, however, imprudent in their pre-

* Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

ſent

ſent ſituation to negative the propoſal, they endeavoured to gain time; and replied accordingly, that though they willingly gave their aſſent to the declaration; yet that, as it was a matter of great conſequence, it deſerved the moſt mature diſcuſſion. Nanſen, perceiving the drift of this delay, anſwered, that they came not to deliberate, but to act: they had already taken their reſolution; they would loſe no time in debate; if the nobles refuſed to concur with them, they would themſelves repair immediately to the palace, not doubting but the king would graciouſly accept their proffered declaration. While this was paſſing in public, the nobles had ſecretly diſpatched a meſſage to the king, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his iſſue, provided it was done with all accuſtomed formalities; a propoſal his majeſty rejected as a circumſtance not deſirable, unleſs the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the females alſo; adding, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wiſhed to preſcribe rules for their conduct. They were to follow the dictates of their own judgment: as for his part, he would owe every thing to their free conſent; but that he could not accept the offer with the limitation propoſed.

The nobles, who were waiting with anxiety for the return of their meſſenger, kept the buſineſs in ſuſpenſe by declining their direct aſſent to the declaration, and propoſing a further conſideration of the ſubject: upon this, the other deputies, apprehenſive of their ſecret cabals, and ſtill further exaſperated againſt them for their obſtinate refuſal of concurrence, quitted the aſſembly, and repaired in ſolemn proceſſion to the court; leaving the nobles in a ſtate of irreſolution and diſtraction, more eaſily conceived than related.

The deputies being admitted to the king, the biſhop of Zealand addreſſed his majeſty on the reſolution taken by the clergy and commons, offering, in their name, to render the crown hereditary, and to inveſt him with abſolute authority; adding, that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of an eſtabliſhment ſo ſalutary to their country. The king, in his anſwer, thanked them for their favourable intentions; but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a neceſſary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they ſhould have had time to accompany the declaration with all the neceſſary formalities: he aſſured them of his protection; promiſed a redreſs of all grievances; and diſmiſſed them with an exhortation to

continue their ſittings, until they ſhould have brought their deſign to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary ſubmiſſion with all due ſolemnity.

The reader will obſerve, with much ſurpriſe, that in all the public occurrences previous to this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention had been made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the ſtill more extraordinary ſcheme of rendering the king abſolute. Is it probable, if the nobles had immediately conſented to the declaration, that this ceſſion might not have taken place? Was there not a medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power? or can we ſuppoſe, that, according to the ſyſtem of the Daniſh law, the latter was neceſſarily implied in the former? Something like this, probably, muſt have been the caſe; as it is hardly poſſible to conceive, that, when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration, the biſhop, of his own accord, ſhould have added the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies;

while the ſubſtance, being included in the popular expreſſion of hereditary right, was adopted and paſſed without reſerve.

But to return to the nobles; when the deputies had abruptly quitted the aſſembly, they could not agree amongſt themſelves what plan was to be purſued in this alarming criſis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of oppoſition, being divided into three principal parties *: the firſt conſiſted of thoſe who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the commons; the ſecond, of thoſe who were conſcious that ſome change in the conſtitution was requiſite, but uncertain how far they ſhould proceed; the third, by far the moſt conſiderable in number, was compoſed of thoſe who ſeemed determined to aſſert their own privileges to the laſt extremity, and who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the leaſt alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they came to no reſolution; but put off their final determination to their next meeting in the afternoon. While they were thus wavering and irreſolute, the court and popular party took the neceſſary precautions in order to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprize might fail of

* Holberg.

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, if the nobles ſhould reſolve to quit Copenhagen, and to break up the diet, from the juſt pretence that it was held in a fortified town, under awe of a garriſon devoted to the court. Indeed ſeveral had already made their eſcape; and others ſeemed inclined to follow them. In conſequence of theſe apprehenſions, the king iſſued orders to ſhut the gates of the town; and this ſpirited meaſure had ſuch an inſtant effect upon the nobles, that they, abandoning all thoughts of further reſiſtance, diſpatched deputies to the court; that they were ready to concur with the commons, and ſubſcribe to all the conditions of the royal pleaſure *.

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the eſtates annulled, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the capitulation, or charter, ſigned by the king at his acceſſion; abſolved him from all his engagements; and cancelled all the limitations impoſed upon his ſovereignty. The whole was finally cloſed by the public ceremony of doing homage, and of taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day ſeveral ſcaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with ſcarlet cloth and tapeſtry, and furniſhed with rows of

* Holberg.

benches: on a platform, more elevated than the reſt, were placed two chairs of ſtate, under a canopy of velvet, for the king and queen, and theſe ſcaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies, were drawn up on each ſide of the gallery; the garriſon ſurrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it; while the regiment of guards ſecured the rear. At mid-day the king and queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of ſtate, repaired in ſolemn proceſſion, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy, and commons, had taken their places, &c. the chancellor proclaimed *:

"Since it has pleaſed the Almighty, by the unanimous "and voluntary reſolution of the ſtates, that this kingdom "ſhould be rendered hereditary in the perſon of his "Majeſty our Lord the King, and of his poſterity male "and female; his Majeſty, after thanking the ſtates for "this proof of their affection and zeal, not only promiſes "to all his good and faithful ſubjects, to govern them as a "Chriſtian and merciful prince ought to do; but alſo to "eſtabliſh a form of government, under which they ſhall "be ſecure of enjoying the ſame advantages under his ſuc-"ceſſors; and as this unanimous reſolution of the ſtates "requires a new oath of allegiance, his Majeſty diſcharges

* Mallet.

"the

"the ſtates from all thoſe oaths which they had formerly "taken; aſſuring each perſon in particular of his royal "favour and protection." After which all perſons who were preſent took the new oath of allegiance.

"I A. B. do promiſe and declare, that I will be true "and faithful to your majeſty, as my moſt gracious king "and lord, as alſo to your royal family; that I will en- "deavour to promote your Majeſty's intereſt in all things, "and, to the beſt of my power, defend you from all danger "and harm; and that I will faithfully ſerve your Majeſty, "as a man of honour and an hereditary ſubject ought to do. "So help me God *," &c.

The revolution being thus accompliſhed, a new form of government was promulgated, under the title of The Royal Law of Denmark. It conſiſts of 40 articles: the moſt remarkable whereof are the following †:

"The hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway ſhall "be in effect, and ought to be eſteemed by their ſubjects, "the only ſupreme head upon earth; they ſhall be above "all human laws, and ſhall acknowledge, in all eccle- "ſiaſtical and civil affairs, no higher power than God "alone. The king ſhall enjoy the right of making "and interpreting the laws, of abrogating, adding to, "and diſpenſing with them. He may alſo annul all the "laws which either he or his predeceſſors ſhall have made, "excepting this Royal Law, which muſt remain irrevo- "cable, and be conſidered as the fundamental law of the "ſtate. He has the power of declaring war, making "peace, impoſing taxes, and levying contributions of all "ſorts," &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of ſucceſſion, the regency in caſe of minority, the majority of the king,

* Moleſworth.

† Lettres ſur le Dannemarc. Mallet.

the maintenance of the royal family; and, after having enumerated all the poſſible prerogatives of regal uncircumſcribed authority, as if ſufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the 26th article: "All that we have "hitherto ſaid of power and eminence, and ſovereignty, "and if there is any thing further which has not been "expreſsly ſpecified, ſhall all be comprized in the following "words. The king of Denmark and Norway ſhall be "the hereditary monarch, and endued with the higheſt "authority, inſomuch that all that can be ſaid and written "to the advantage of a Chriſtian, hereditary, and abſolute "king, ſhall be extended under the moſt favourable inter-"pretation to the hereditary king or queen of Denmark "and Norway," &c. &c.*

Upon reviewing the principal circumſtances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obſtinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have ſecured many of their privileges; but as they did not comply until their concurrence was ſcarcely neceſſary, they could not command any compenſation for what they could not keep, and ſurrendered with the moſt evident reluctance. The deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their reſentment againſt that order, whoſe tyranny

* The reader will find an abridged extract of the ſeveral articles in Moleſworth, p. 186; and a French tranſlation in Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 118; which tranſlation is alſo inſerted in Mallet's Hiſt. de Dannemarc, Vol. III. p. 475.

they

they had long experienced, and whoſe future aſcendency they dreaded; and they were ſo warmly animated by their admiration of the king, that they thought no ſacrifice too great which could aſſure him of their confidence, and teſtify their gratitude. Strange infatuation, that they ſhould diſcover no means of humbling their oppreſſors, and ſecuring their own immunities, without the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute government! Might they not have looſened the king's ſhackles, without tearing them off? The reſerve of the legiſlative power, and right of taxation in the three eſtates, would ſufficiently have ſecured the freedom of the people, as well againſt the encroachments of the crown as the inſolence of a proud nobility. But the voice of reaſon is ſeldom heard amid the tumult of public animoſities and the uproar of faction. Self-intereſted and deſigning perſons, who have previouſly ſettled their end, and the mode of purſuing it, take advantage of every caſual incident; and the generality are blindly led away by their paſſions to effect what they ever afterwards regret.

"Thus this great affair," concludes Lord Moleſworth, "was finiſhed, and the king-"dom of Denmark, in four days time, "changed, from an eſtate little differing

"from ariſtocracy, to as abſolute a monar-
"chy as any is at preſent in the world." But theſe expreſſions have been conſidered as too ſtrong by ſeveral of the native hiſtorians; and an Engliſh author *, who wrote againſt his account of Denmark by deſire of the Daniſh miniſter, has contradicted his concluſion; becauſe Frederic III. did not abuſe his power, and becauſe he confirmed the privileges to the different orders. But ſurely when the ſovereign, according to the expreſſions of the Royal Law, is declared "independent upon earth, acknowledging no "higher power than God; when he has an "unlimited authority to make, alter, repeal, "and diſpenſe with laws; when he alone "can make peace and declare war; form al-"liances and levy taxes; when, in a word, "he enjoys all the rights and prerogatives "which an hereditary, abſolute, deſpotic "king can enjoy;" what ſignify privileges which he can annul at pleaſure? of what force are laws which he can repeal with a word? Allowing, what is true, that the kings of Denmark have ſeldom abuſed their

* King's Animadverſions on a pretended Account of Denmark, in which the author animadverts upon ſeveral miſrepreſentations of Lord Moleſworth.

authority;

authority; and without pretending to deny that the tyranny of the nobles had riſen to an exceſſive height; yet we ſurely may conclude, that it would have been happier for the kingdom, if the power of the crown had been in ſome due degree limited, while the rights of the nobles had been qualified, not aboliſhed; and the people continued ſubjects of a limited monarchy, not enſlaved to arbitrary will and dominion.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I. Remarks on the population.—II. Finances. —III. Army.—IV. Navy.—V. Church eſtabliſhment in Denmark.

I. THE following table exhibits the population in the Daniſh dominions.

			No. of Inhabitants.
Denmark.	Dioceſe of Zealand, including the iſles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm — Iſlands.	283,466	
	Dioceſe of Funen, including the iſles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falſter — Iſlands.	143,988	785,590
	Dioceſe of Aarhuus — Jutland	117,942	
	Ditto Riber — Jutland	99,923	
	Ditto Aalborg — Jutland	80,872	
	Ditto Viborg — Jutland	59,399	
Iſles of Feroe			4,754
Norway.	Dioceſe of Agerhuus	215,043	
	Ditto Chriſtianſand	113,024	
	Ditto Berghen	130,352	723,141
	Ditto Drontheim	164,722	
Iceland.	Dioceſe of Scalholt	34,216	46,201
	Ditto Holun	11,985	
Duchy of Sleſwick			243,605
Duchy of Holſtein belonging to the king			134,665
Duchy of Gluckſburgh			10,072
Diſtrict of Kiel			75,000
Number of ſouls in the Daniſh dominions			2,023,028

II. Finances.

II. Finances.—The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the cuſtoms, duties upon exports and imports, exciſe on proviſions and liquors, poll-tax *, tax on ranks, on places, penſions, and perquiſites, on marriages †, land-tax, quit-rents from the royal demeſnes, licences on public houſes, privilege of diſtilling ſpirits, for leave to hunt and ſhoot in the royal manors, leaſes on farms

* The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark: it was at firſt laid upon the inhabitants of Norway, but has been ſince aboliſhed, and another impoſt ſubſtituted in its room; the peaſants, who are all free in that kingdom, having conſidered it as a badge of ſlavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are alſo exempted from it, upon the payment of an annual compenſation.

† The tax upon marriages, as I am informed, has been aboliſhed ſince my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wiſe legiſlature will ever think of impoſing; and if impoſed by inadvertence, would take the firſt opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real intereſts of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as ſo injudicious an impoſt was capable of being diſtributed, the peaſants and lower claſs of people being exempted from the payment of it.—"La portion la plus "nombreuſe," ſays the author of Les Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, "et la plus pauvre de la ſocieté, les payſans, les "matelots, et les ſoldats, n'y ſont pas aſſujettis: mais ſi le "marriage doit être encouragé par toutes les voies "poſſibles, à plus forte raiſon mérite-t-il d'être libre de "toute charge. Celle qui ſe paye ici eſt ſi modique, "qu'elle ne forme pas un grand obſtacle à la population." p. 165.

and

and ſaw-mills, profits of the mines, ſtamped paper, duty on ſnuff, on cards, &c. &c. Buſching, who, as I am informed from perſons well verſed in this ſubject, has given a very accurate account of the Daniſh finances for the year 1769, informs us, that the groſs receipt amounted to £. 1,252,454. The expences, of which he has alſo laid down an exact detail, are rated at £. 936,130; of which ſum the army eſtimates came to £. 350,000; and thoſe of the navy to £. 180,000. The debts, in 1771, were only £. 3,418,009; the intereſt of which was diſcharged by an annual payment of £. 131,392; which muſt be added to the yearly expenditure *.

III. The army of Denmark is compoſed, 1. of the troops of Denmark and Holſtein; and, 2. of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holſtein are divided into, 1. Regulars; 2. National or militia. Theſe forces (the foot and horſe guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not ſeparated, as in our army, into diſtinct regiments, but are formed in the following manner:

To begin with the infantry. Before the

* For further particulars ſee Buſ. Hiſt. Mag. XIV. p. 1—92; and Erd-beſ. Vol. I, p. 143.

late

late augmentation, every regiment, when complete, conſiſted of 26 officers, and 1632 privates, divided into ten companies of fuſileers, and two of grenadiers. Of theſe 1632 privates, 480, who are chiefly foreigners enliſted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining 1152 are the national militia, or peaſants, who reſide upon the eſtates of their landholders, each eſtate furniſhing a certain number in proportion to its value. Theſe national troops are occaſionally exerciſed in ſmall corps upon Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about 17 days, in their reſpective diſtricts. By a late addition of 10 men to each company, a regiment of infantry is increaſed to 1778, including officers. The expence of each regiment, which before amounted to £.6000, has been raiſed, by the late augmentation, to £.8000. The cavalry is upon the ſame footing; each regiment conſiſting of 17 officers, including ſerjeants and corporals, and 565 privates, divided into five ſquadrons. Of theſe about 260 are regular, and the remainder national troops. The regiments of foot and horſe guards are regulars; the former is compoſed of 21 officers, and 465 men, in five companies; and the latter of 7 officers, and 154 men, in two ſquadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops

troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sundenfield and Nordenfield. And as the peaſants of that kingdom are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from thoſe of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, each whereof furniſhes a ſoldier. All the peaſants are, upon their birth, regiſtered for the militia: and the firſt on the liſt ſupplies the vacancy for the diſtrict to which he belongs. After having ſerved from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among the invalids; and, when they have attained the ſeniority of that corps, receive their diſmiſſion. Theſe troops are not continually under arms, but are only occaſionally exerciſed, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed ſtipend is aſſigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars: but the common ſoldiers do not receive any pay, except when they are in actual ſervice, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The Academy of Land Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. ſupplies the army with officers. According to this foundation, 74 cadets are inſtructed in the military ſciences at the expence of the king.

Liſt

List of the Danish Army.

Infantry.—Danish and Holstein.—Regulars and militia.

Foot guards, reg.	486
Danish royal regiment, mixt	1778
Norway ditto, mixt	1778
King's ditto, mixt	1778
Queen's ditto, mixt	1778
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt	1778
Prince Frederic's ditto, mixt	1778
Jutland ditto, mixt	1778
Oldenburg ditto, mixt	1778
Bornholm ditto, mixt	1778
Slesvic ditto, mixt	1778
Holstein ditto, mixt	1778
Falster ditto, mixt	1778
Moen ditto, mixt	1778
Delmenhorst's ditto, mixt	1778
Total of Danish and Holstein Infantry	25,378

Infantry of Norway.

Regiment of Sunderfield, reg.	1376
Ditto of Nordenfield, reg.	1376
First reg. of Agerhuus, national	1956
Second ditto, nat.	1956
First ditto Smaalchen. nat.	1800
Second ditto, nat.	2082
First ditto Drontheim, nat.	2082
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Third ditto, nat.	2089
First ditto Oplande, nat.	2075
Second ditto, nat.	1916
First ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	1916

Second reg. of Bergenhuus, nat.	1916
First ditto Verterbeck, nat.	1916
Second ditto, nat.	1916
Corps of light troops, nat.	960
Regiment of artillery, mixt	2771
Corps of engineers, reg.	34
Total of Infantry of Norway	31,053

Cavalry—Danish and Holstein.

Horse guards, regulars	161
Royal Danish regiment, mixt	582
Norway ditto, mixt	582
First regiment of Zealand, mixt	582
Second ditto, mixt	582
Of Jutland, mixt	582
Funen, mixt	582
Sleswick, mixt	582
Holstein, mixt	582

Cavalry of Norway.

First regiment of dragoons, nat.	1168
First ditto of Sundenfield, nat.	1168
Second ditto, national	1167
Third ditto, nat.	1079
Regiment of Nordenfield, nat.	1079
Total of Cavalry	10,478
Total of Infantry	56,431
Total of the Danish troops	66,909

IV. Navy. From their insular situation the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profession, they were a race of pirates,

pirates, and iſſued from the Baltic to the conqueſts of England and Normandy. And though, ſince the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compaſs, other nations have riſen to a greater degree of naval eminence; ſtill, however, the Danes, as they inhabit a cluſter of iſlands, and poſſeſs a large tract of ſea-coaſt, are well verſed in maritime affairs, and are certainly the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt experienced ſailors of the North. During my ſtay at Copenhagen I viſited the dock, and inſpected, with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour. The following reſult of my enquiries upon the ſtate of the Daniſh navy, is here laid before the reader.

The expence of building the hulk amounts to £. 200 per gun, and to £. 1000 when the veſſel is completely rigged, and ready to ſail, with four months proviſions. The greateſt part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the king of Pruſſia *. All the cannon, ſhot, anchors, and iron-work, are caſt in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and maſts from Ruſſia, and pitch and tar from Sweden; they have manufactures of

* Holſtein produces oaks, but not a ſufficient quantity; and they are preſerved in caſe of extreme neceſſity.

cordage and ſails, but not ſufficient for the uſe of the fleet: the overplus is obtained from Ruſſia and Holland.

The greateſt part of the Daniſh navy is ſtationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only 20 feet, the ſhips have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Beſide large magazines, each veſſel has a ſeparate ſtorehouſe, on the water's edge, oppoſite to which ſhe is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be inſtantly equipped. The number of regiſtered ſeamen are 14,600, and are divided into two claſſes; the firſt compriſes thoſe inhabiting the coaſts, who are allowed to engage in the ſervice of merchant-ſhips trading to any part of the world. Each receives 8*s.* annually from the crown as long as he ſends a certificate of his being alive; but is ſubject to recal in caſe of war. The ſecond comprehends the fixed ſailors, who are conſtantly in the employ of the crown, and amount to about 4000, ranged under four diviſions, or 40 companies: they are ſtationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary ſervice of the navy, and work in the dock-yard. Each of them, when not at ſea, receives 8*s.* per month, beſide a ſufficient quan-

tity of flour and other proviſions; every two years a complete ſuit of clothes; and every year breeches, ſtockings, ſhoes, and a cap. Some of them are lodged in barracks. When they ſail, their pay is augmented to 20*s.* per month. The marine artillery conſiſts of 800 men, in four diviſions.

Liſt of the Daniſh Navy in 1779.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

	Names:	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Chriſtian VII.	90	Copenhagen	1767.
2	Superb	80	Ditto	1768.
3	Sophia Frederica	74	Ditto	1775.
4	Juſtitia	74	Ditto	1777.
5	Vandal	70	Ditto	1742. For Parade
6	Queen Louiſa	70	Ditto	1744.
7	Copenhagen	70	Ditto	1744. Condemned
8	Queen Juliana	70	Ditto	1752. Ditto
9	Prince Royal	70	Ditto	1756.
10	Denmark	70	Ditto	1757.
11	Jutland	70	North Sea	1760.
12	Prince Frederic	70	Copenhagen	1761.
13	Oere-Sund	70	Ditto	1766.
14	Northern Lyon	70	Ditto	1765.
15	Elephant	70	Ditto	1769.
16	Oldenburgh	60	Ditto	1740. Condemned
17	North Star	60	Ditto	1746. For Parade
18	Zealand	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
19	Neptune	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
20	Storman	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
21	Iceland	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
22	Victory	60	Ditto	1754.
23	Princeſs Sophia Magdalena	60	Ditto	1763.
24	Princeſs Wilhelmina	60	Ditto	1764.
25	Danebrog	60	Ditto	1772.
26	Holſtein	60	Ditto	1772.
27	Wagria	60	Ditto	1773.
28	Infoeds Retten	60	Ditto	1776.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
29	Ditmarſſen	50	Copenhagen	1742. Condemned
30	Delmenburſt	50	Ditto	1743. Ditto
31	Ebenezer	50	North Sea	1758.
32	Nettleblad	50	Copenhagen	1746. Condemned
33	Funen	50	Ditto	1746. Parade
34	Greenland	50	North Sea	1756.
35	Sainte Croix	50	Ditto	1758.
36	Mars	50	Copenhagen	1760.
37	Sleſwick	50	Ditto	1766.
38	Diſco	44	Ditto	1778.

FRIGATES.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Pearl	34	Copenhagen	1772.
2	Kiel	36	Ditto	1775.
3	Bornholm	36	Ditto	1774.
4	Moen	36	Ditto	1777.
5	Croneborg	34	Ditto	1776.
6	Chriſtiana	34	Ditto	
7	Dockin	24	Ditto	1750. Parade
8	Moen	28		1752.
9	Blue Eagle	30		1753. Parade
10	Savage	28		1754. Parade
11	Chriſtianborg	34	North Sea	1758.
12	Sea Horſe	28	Copenhagen	1758.
13	Langeland	28	Ditto	1758.
14	Falſter	30	Ditto	1760.
15	Syren		Ditto	
16	Tranquebar	34	Ditto	1761.
17	Alſen		Ditto	
18	Chriſtiana	30	Ditto	1766.
19	Feroe	34	Ditto	1766.
20	Sanroe	22	Ditto	1770.
		Swivels		
	Eagle Royal Yacht	26	Ditto	1756.

Bomb Ketches.—Bravery; Serious; Comet; Courage; Dragon.

Recapitulation: 38 ſhips of the line, including 9 of fifty guns and one of 44, and 20 frigates; but if we except thoſe which are condemned, and thoſe which are allot-

ted

ted only for parade, we cannot eſtimate that, in 1779, the fleet conſiſted of more than 25 ſhips of the line, and 15 frigates fit for ſervice: a number, however, fully adequate to the ſituation of Denmark; and, if we include the excellence of the ſailors, it muſt be eſteemed as complete a navy as any in the North.

A ſhip of 90 guns, with its full complement, carries 850 men; of 70 guns 700; of 64 guns 600; of 50 guns 450; and a frigate of 36 guns 250. Moſt part of this fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ſhips of the line in the ports of Norway; a frigate ſtationed off Elſinoor; another lying off the iſle of Funen; and a ſmaller veſſel upon the Elbe; beſide a frigate or two which annually make a cruize.

The year 1779 being celebrated for the riſe of the armed neurality, the northern powers ſent out naval armaments; that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the ſpring of that year, conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, four frigates, and two ſloops of 20 guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly ſupplied by an additional duty of one per cent. laid upon all imports, and half per cent. upon exports. For the manning of this fleet 1000 fixed ſailors

were ſelected, 3500 regiſtered from the country, and 1000 marines.

The chief nurſery * for the officers of the navy is the Academy of Marine Cadets, inſtituted by Frederic IV. in 1701. The foundation is for 60 Cadets, who are maintained and inſtructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruize on board of a frigate. Beſide the original number, other youths are admitted into this academy, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

V. The eſtabliſhed religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy conſiſts of 12 biſhops, or ſuperintendants; ſix in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no archbiſhop; but the biſhop of Zealand, who is firſt in rank, and the biſhop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the ſees are as follow. In Denmark: Zealand £. 1000; Funen £. 760; Aarhuus £. 600; Aalborg £. 400; and Ripan £. 400. In Norway: Chriſtiana, or Aggerhuus, £. 400; Chriſtianſand £. 600; Berghen £. 400; and Drontheim £. 400. In Iceland: Skalholt £. 150; and Holun £. 150. Theſe two laſt biſhoprics, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, p. 10.

take

take into conſideration the cheap manner of living in Iceland, perhaps equal in real profits to the largeſt of the others.

The other clergy are provoſts or archdeacons, pariſh-prieſts, and chaplains. Each dioceſe is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, over which the provoſts have the inſpection, and each diſtrict into pariſhes. A large pariſh, beſide the principal church, has one or more additional chapels of eaſe. The pariſh-prieſts receive their ſalaries principally in glebe, tithes, and ſurplice fees; and in ſome places from the voluntary contributions of their pariſhioners. The profits vary in the different parts according to the cheapneſs of proviſions and other incidental circumſtances. In Denmark the livings ſeldom exceed £.400, or fall ſhort of £.60 per annum, Jutland excepted, in whch peninſula there are a few ſcarcely worth £.20. In Norway the higheſt may be rated at £.200, and the loweſt at £.60. In Iceland ſome pariſhes ſcarcely bring in £.3 or £.4 a year. A clergyman's widow uſually receives the whole profit of her huſband's cure for the year immediately following his deceaſe; and a penſion from his ſucceſſor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Univerſity of Copenhagen.—*Royal Academy of Sciences.—Royal Society for the improvement of Northern hiſtory and languages.*—Latin *ſchools in the* Daniſh *dominions.—Reſearches into the origin and progreſs of* Icelandic *literature.*—Flora Danica.—Oeder *and* Muller.—Regenfuſs *on ſhells*, &c. &c.

COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary inſtitutions, an Univerſity, and an Academy of Sciences. The former was founded in 1479, by Chriſtian I. and has ſince been augmented and amply endowed by his ſucceſſors; amongſt whom Chriſtian VI. was its greateſt benefactor. Under that monarch the univerſity was newly modelled, and ſeveral regulations eſtabliſhed, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffuſion of general learning. It has a very conſiderable fund; the profeſſors have liberal ſalaries; and many ſtudents are inſtructed gratis.

The Royal Academy of Sciences * owes its inſtitution

* Lettres ſur le Dannemarc, vol. II. p. 53. The count of Holſtein was the firſt preſident; and the ſix perſons

inſtitution to the zeal of ſix literati, whom Chriſtian VI. in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. Theſe perſons, occaſionally meeting for that purpoſe, extended their deſigns; aſſociated with them others who were eminent in ſeveral branches of ſcience; and forming a kind of literary ſociety, employed themſelves in ſearching into, and explaining the hiſtory and antiquities of their country. The count of Holſtein warmly patronized this ſociety, and recommended it ſo ſtrongly to Chriſtian VI. that, in 1743, his Daniſh majeſty took it under his protection; called it the Royal Academy of Sciences, endowed it with a fund; and ordered the members to join to their former purſuits, natural hiſtory, phyſics, and mathematics. In conſequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with freſh zeal in their purſuits; and the academy has publiſhed 15 volumes of tranſactions in the Daniſh language, ſome whereof have been tranſlated into Latin.

About the ſame period a ſociety for the improvement of northern hiſtory and languages was inſtituted by a few perſons, at the head

ſons who firſt formed the deſign, were John Gram, Joachim Frederic Ramus, Chriſtian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelman. See Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita. V. I.

of

of whom was Langebek, who has ſince greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his hiſtorical publications. Theſe perſons contributed to a collection of manuſcripts, books, coins, and other literary curioſities; and even advanced a ſum of money to ſupport the expence of their eſtabliſhment. Many new members being admitted, Chriſtian VI. with his uſual zeal for letters, conſtituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society; and aſſigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This ſociety has proved itſelf not unworthy of the royal protection; having given to the world ſeveral publications, containing hiſtorical details, titles, documents, diplomas, rare manuſcripts and charts, which tend to throw light upon the annals of Denmark.

Beſide the univerſities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, and two gymnaſia at Odenſee and Altona, and a ſeminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin ſchools maintained at the expence of the crown: 19 in Denmark Proper, 4 in Norway, 11 in Schleſwick, 16 in Holſtein, and 2 in Iceland. The largeſt ſchools have a *rector*, or upper-maſter; a *corrector*, or lower-maſter; and two or three *collegæ ſcholæ*, or aſſiſtants: the ſmalleſt have only

only a rector. The ſalaries of the maſters vary from £. 60 to £. 200 a year. Each pariſh alſo is provided with two or three ſchools for the Daniſh tongue; where children are inſtructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Theſe country ſchoolmaſters have in general a ſalary of about £. 12 per annum, a houſe, and a few other advantages.

I muſt alſo mention two ſchools at Copenhagen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a proper education. One is for boys, and the other for females. That for boys is under the direction of profeſſor Treſchow, chaplain of the garriſon-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of conſiderable erudition, who, conſidering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inſpector has £. 60 per annum. The day-ſcholars pay only £. 6 a year, and the boarders £. 20: they learn hiſtory, geography, and arithmetic; are inſtructed in the articles of their religion; and have maſters for the German, French, and Engliſh languages.

In general the Daniſh literari have particularly turned their reſearches upon the hiſtory and antiquities of the North; on which ſubjects many curious works have been already printed, and more are ſtill preparing for public

public inſpection. Among thoſe who have greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this branch of learning, muſt be mentioned the names of Meurſius, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately thoſe of Langebek, Schoening *, and Suhm.

Among the performances lately printed on theſe topics, thoſe in the Icelandic tongue deſerve particular notice; as they tend to throw conſiderable light upon the antiquities, hiſtory, and mythology of the northern nations; Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a ſtate of perpetual warfare, the ſole refuge and repoſitory of Northern literature. Upon obſerving ſuch a number of Icelandic manuſcripts

* Langebek, who, among other learned publications, has put forth, "Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi," printed at the king's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life devoted to the purſuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening, the learned editor of Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſtoria, and many other intereſting works, was born at Schatnas in Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is deſirous of further information on this ſubject, will find an ample detail of the lives and writings of theſe two indefatigable antiquaries in the Prefaces to the 4th and 5th volumes of the Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the ſame diligence and accuracy that diſtinguiſhed the judicious Langebek.

as

as are contained in the Daniſh libraries; I was greatly aſtoniſhed to find that Iceland, which was conſidered by the antients as the *Ultima Thule*, or the extremity of the world, and by us as ſcarcely habitable, abounded in learning and ſcience, at a time when great part of Europe was involved in darkneſs. I was anxious to make ſome enquiries upon this ſubject; and the reſult of them is here communicated to the reader.

It does not appear from hiſtory at what time Iceland was firſt peopled; when it was occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the latter end of the 9th century, it contained but few inhabitants, who were ſuppoſed to have originally arrived there from England or Ireland, but whoſe number was inadequate to reſiſt the invaders. Afterwards occaſional emigrants landed at different parts from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and the original inhabitants were ſoon loſt amid the ſwarm of the new ſettlers, who introduced the worſhip of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and cuſtoms which at that time prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothic or Teutonic, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, before it branched into the ſeveral dialects ſince ſpoken

by the natives of thoſe three kingdoms; and on account of their inſular ſituation, it was preſerved pure for a very conſiderable time. Their alphabet was compoſed of the Runic characters, only ſixteen in number; yet, it is to theſe Icelanders, that we are indebted for almoſt all the hiſtorical monuments of the northern nations now remaining *. From them ſprung the Scalds, thoſe antient bards who have tranſmitted, in their hiſtorical poems, the principal events which happened in theſe remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of Chriſtianity; a period of barbariſm and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to poſterity. Although theſe Scaldic odes blend occaſionally hiſtorical events with improbable narratives; yet, as intelligent critics may ſeparate facts from fable, and truth from fiction, and as they are the only ſources of information relative to the early affairs of the North; they muſt be conſidered as very valuable monuments of antiquity. Add to

* Speaking of the Icelandic writings, the editor of Kriſtni Saga ſays, "Habemus enim irriguos illos fontes, "unde religionis, poeſeos, imo incunabulorum gentis noſtræ "notitia manat, decantatiſſimas nempe Eddas, &c. Ha-"bemus integros et plenos codices hiſtoriarum, quæ circa "heroica verſantur tempora."

this,

this, that the recital of these compositions, at public entertainments, before the princes whose deeds they celebrated; and who, as well as many other persons present, were well acquainted with the subject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity *.

A few of these odes were written in Runic characters †, the far greater part, however, were consigned only to memory; but no

* Snorro Sturleson, who drew from these Scaldic Odes many materials for his Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, thus speaks of them:

"Præcipue carmina sumus secuti, quæ coram ipsis prin-
"cipibus aut eorum filiis sunt decantata, vera reputantes
"omnia, quæ istis in carminibus de eorum gestis aut bellis
"memoriæ sunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis est re-
"ceptum, præcipue laudare, cui ministrant. Ast nemo
"facile auderet, coram ipso principe, laudes et facta can-
"tare, quæ tam ipse quam alii præsentes scirent mera esse
"figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi esset." See Preface to Schoening's Edition of Snorro Sturlensis, p. 12. note.

† "Though we have no reason to believe they were cut
"upon stones, as was practised among us (no Runic stones
"having been found there whose age reaches to the times
"of paganism); they used, however, to scratch them on
"their bucklers, and sometimes on their ceilings and walls;
"and the *Laxdaela Saga* makes mention of one Olof of
"Hiardarhult, who had a large house built, on the beams
"and rafters of which remarkable stories are said to have
"been marked, in the same manner as Thorkil Hake cut
"an account of his own deeds on his bedstead and chair."
Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

ſooner was the Chriſtian religion introduced into Iceland, about the latter end of the 9th century *, than the Runic letters were exchanged for the Roman alphabet: ſchools were founded; the love of ſcience, which had in ſome degree maintained itſelf, even when the inhabitants were in a ſtate of paganiſm, revived with freſh vigour; many antient poems were collected; many chronicles digeſted into a regular form; and the very traditions of pagan theology reſcued from oblivion. The Icelanders are known to have poſſeſſed ſeveral hiſtorians, long before a ſingle annaliſt appeared among any of the nations from whom they were deſcended. Their authors Iſlief, Are, and Sæmund, who flouriſhed in the 11th century, preceded Saxo-Grammaticus and

* In the Kriſtni Saga, the introduction of Chriſtianity into Iceland is thus related: "Thorwaldus, a perſon of "ſome diſtinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were "all idolaters, happening to travel through Saxony, com-"menced acquaintance with a certain biſhop, whoſe name "was Frederic; and being inſtructed by him in the Chriſ-"tian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon "the biſhop to return with him to Iceland, in order to "convert the natives to Chriſtianity. And as the biſhop "was ignorant of the language, Thorwaldus, receiving in-"ſtruction, preached to the people, and many were bap-"tized. This event, which laid the firſt foundation of the "Goſpel in Iceland, happened in the year 980." See Kriſtni Saga, p. 3, &c.

Sueno,

Sueno, the earlieſt of the Daniſh, Swediſh, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an intereſting ſpeculation in the theory of mankind, if it could be accounted for, "how it came to paſs, that a "people, disjoined from the reſt of the world, "few in number, depreſſed by poverty, and "ſituated in ſo unfavourable a climate, ſhould "be capable, in thoſe dark ages, of mani-"feſting ſuch a taſte for literature. Were "we better informed of certain particulars "relating to the ſtate of the North during "thoſe remote ages, we might poſſibly find "the cauſe of this phænomenon, either in "the poverty of the inhabitants of Iceland, "which drove them to ſeek their fortunes in "the neighbouring countries; or in the ſuc-"ceſs of their firſt bards at foreign courts, "which excited their emulation, and at the "ſame time prepoſſeſſed ſtrangers in their "favour; or, laſtly, in the nature of their "republican government, in which the ta-"lent of oratory, and the reputation of ſu-"perior ſenſe and capacity, are the direct "roads to dignity, reſpect, and preferment*." To theſe cauſes may perhaps be joined the political tranquillity of Iceland, which re-

* Nor. Ant. Vol. I. p. 392.

maining unſhaken amid the civil commotions that convulſed the neighbouring nations, its inhabitants had ſufficient leiſure for literary occupations; and ſome may alſo be induced to add, the nature of their climate, which obliged them to ſeek for ſome relief againſt the tedioufneſs of the long nights and continued darkneſs *.

But to return to the Icelandic authors. The moſt antient hiſtorian was Iſlief, biſhop of Skalholt. This writer was ſon of Giſſur Albus, a perſon of great diſtinction in Iceland, and deſcended from the antient kings of Denmark, who conſiderably promoted the reception and eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. Iſlief was born in 1006; and, having received the firſt rudiments of learning from his father, was ſent, about the 16th year of his age, for the purpoſe of completing his education, into Saxony; and made rapid advances in ſeveral branches of knowledge †. Being ordained prieſt, he returned to Iceland; fixed his reſidence at Skalholt, where his father had erected

* Ipſi in defoſſis ſpecubus ſecura ſub altâ
Otia agunt terrâ——
Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virg. Georg. III. 376.

† This account of Iſlief I have extracted from Kriſtni Saga, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. Hungurvaka Saga, p. 13 to 25.

a church;

a church; and preached the Goſpel with a moſt fervent and perſuaſive eloquence. Iſlief was the firſt native biſhop of Iceland: he was raiſed to that dignity in the 50th year of his age, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, by particular deſire of the emperor Henry III. and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of Bremen, on the 6th of January 1056; and returning the ſame year to Iceland, fixed the ſee at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the 75th year of his age. Iſlief is deſcribed as a perſon of a dignified aſpect, affable, juſt and upright in all his actions, liberal and beneficent, though, from the narrowneſs of his income, he was frequently expoſed to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety was ſo widely diffuſed, that many foreign biſhops viſited Iceland, for the purpoſe of receiving his inſtructions: and his memory was ſo highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was eſteemed ſynonymous to ſanctity and erudition. He was married to Dalla, daughter of Thorwaldus, by whom he had three ſons, all of whom were celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Giſſur, who ſucceeded his father in the biſhopric, and in his zeal for the propagation of the Goſpel,

and the promotion of learning. Iſlief guarded againſt the decline of literature in Iceland, by aſſiduouſly inſtructing many pupils, ſome of whom became eminently diſtinguiſhed; and two were advanced to the epiſcopal dignity. He was well verſed in the hiſtory of the North; and compiled ſeveral annals, which though now loſt, furniſhed materials for the chronicles of the earlieſt Icelandic authors, whoſe works are at preſent extant. I allude to Are, ſurnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, ſon of Iſlief; Sæmund Sigfurſon, for his great erudition denominated Polyhiſtor; and Snorro Sturleſon, ſtyled by his learned editor the Herodotus of the North; all of whom immediately ſucceeded Iſlief, and wrote on the hiſtory of Norway.

Many ſubſequent annaliſts made their appearance, of whom it would be ſuperfluous to give an account. Several of theſe writings, compoſed in the Icelandic tongue, have been given to the public, ſome printed in Iceland*,

* Von Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland by John (or Jonas) Areſon, biſhop of Holun; that John Mathieſſon, a Swede, was the firſt printer; and that the firſt book was the Breviarium Nidaroſieuſe, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandic Bible was printed in 1584. See Letters on Iceland, p. 182.

† others

others in Sweden; but the greateſt part in Denmark, accompanied with Swediſh, Daniſh, or Latin tranſlations *. The moſt important of theſe publications is a folio edition of the above-mentioned chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778. It is accompanied with a life of the author, from which it appears, that he was born in 1178; that he received his education, and completed his ſtudies in Iceland; that he was chief magiſtrate of the country; and that he was killed in an inſurrection in 1241, in the 63d year of his age. His biographer ſays, that he was an excellent poet, an accurate hiſtorian, and a ſkilful lawyer; that he was a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematics and mechanics †. From his chronicle, Torfæus, the late annaliſt of the North, has chiefly drawn the materials for his Hiſtory of Norway; and he acknowledges himſelf indebted to Snorro more than to any other writer.

* For a liſt of the Icelandic authors, ſee Preface to Annales Biornoni is de Skardſa, p. 5. North. Ant. I. p. 52, & paſſim. Letters on Iceland, Letter XIV. The library of the Britiſh Muſeum contains about 180 Icelandic manuſcripts. See Ayſcough's Catalogue of the manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, p. 890.

† Preface, p. ix.

From the 14th century, hiſtory and letters gradually declined in Iceland; and that iſland was involved in the ſame darkneſs which had for ſome time overſpread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the 16th century, occaſioned the revival of ſcience. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of conſiderable learning; yet, as knowledge has widely diffuſed itſelf in Sweden and Denmark under the protection of their ſovereigns, theſe kingdoms have become greatly enlightened; and Iceland is no longer, what it was formerly, the ſole repoſitory of northern genius *.

Although the Daniſh literati have directed their chief attention to hiſtory and antiquities; yet they have by no means been deficient in the ſtudy of nature.

Frederic V. the late king of Denmark, a munificent patron of the ſciences, founded, in 1753, a botanical garden, intended principally to facilitate a royal and liberal deſign of giv-

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary hiſtory of Iceland to Mallet's North. Antiq. tranſlated by Dr. Percy, biſhop of Dromore; Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, tranſlated by Forſter; Torfæi Hiſt. Norw.; Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Regum Norw.; and the ſeveral publications of the Icelandic writers printed at Copenhagen.

ing

ing a complete hiſtory, and engravings, of all the native plants in the Daniſh dominions *. The ſuperintendance of this garden, with a ſtipend annexed, and afterwards the profeſſorſhip of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was choſen to conduct the work. In proſecution of this deſign, having, at the king's expence, viſited various parts of Denmark and Norway, he began the publication in 1762.

The Flora Danica was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, thoſe of the duchies of Sleſwick and Holſtein, and of many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than 16 degrees, between the 54th degree of latitude and the North Cape. A hiſtory of all theſe plants, to be publiſhed in octavo, was alſo promiſed; but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this Flora Danica, a number, or *faſciculus*, containing 60 plates, was intended to be annually publiſhed, and the firſt came forth in 1762: but, according to the uſual fate of periodical undertakings of ſuch conſiderable

* This account of the Flora Danica, and of Meſſrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been ſo repeatedly obliged.

extent,

extent, a variety of cauſes has, at different times, retarded its regular progreſs; inſomuch, that the 15th *faſciculus* only, completing the number of 900 plates, or 5 volumes, made its appearance in 1782. This work may be purchaſed either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the ſubject could any regular method, or ſyſtem, be obſerved in the publication. The plants are ſeparately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in thoſe of the claſs Cryptogamia, where, in ſome inſtances, ſeveral are given in the ſame plate. Prefixed to each *faſciculus* is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, and a few ſelect ſynonyms, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the ſize will admit, the plant is exhibited in its natural magnitude; in others, a branch only, and, in moſt inſtances, the parts of fructification are ſeparately delineated: an article indiſpenſable to botanical accuracy. In ſome of the larger plants, beſide the branch of the natural ſize, the whole is given on a reduced ſcale; but it muſt be confeſſed, that this part of the deſign is the leaſt meritorious: happily it does not often occur.

The 12th *faſciculus*, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved,

engraved, or intended to be contained in this work; by which it appears, that the whole number will nearly amount to 1800 ſpecies; of which more than 570 are of the claſs Cryptogamia; or that which contains the ferns, moſſes, algæ, and fungi. And, that any curious perſons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far it might be ſubſervient to their knowledge of Engliſh botany, it may be added, that out of 980 ſpecies already figured in the 15 firſt *faſciculi*, more than 700 are alſo ſpontaneouſly produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though carried on at the king's expence; truth will not be offended by aſſerting, that the execution of it is ſtill inferior to a performance of the ſame kind, now publiſhing in England, at the riſk of an individual. I allude to Mr. Curtis's *Flora Londinenſis*; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice diſcrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of ſuch ſcope and deſign; nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinenſis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates: it contains a minute deſcription of each plant, and is enriched by ſcientific, uſeful, and œconomical obſervations, either extracted from the

the beſt writers, or derived from the extenſive knowledge of its author. It is but juſtice to add, that the minute plants of the claſs Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely deficient, are figured with the utmoſt exactneſs by Mr. Curtis, who has introduced to the Engliſh botaniſt five new ſpecies of *agarici* *. Every lover of ſcience muſt join in wiſhing, that the *Flora Londinenſis* may meet with all the encouragement, due to a work that will honour the age and the nation in which it appears.

Chriſtian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. It appears, by Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder †, that he viſited England in his younger days, and had acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilſt he was a ſtudent at Gottingen, he tranſlated all the Engliſh treatiſes for a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller publiſhed in 2 vols. 8vo. in

* A. Oſtreatus; Plycatilis; Glutinoſus; Floccoſus; Velutipes.

† See Nugent's Travels through Germany, Vol. I.

1748.

1748. The ſucceeding year he took his doctor's degree in phyſic, and wrote, on that occaſion, a theſis, which Haller calls "*Docta Diſſertatio contra revulſionem & de-*" "*rivationem.*" In 1752, at which period he was ſettled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correſpondent member; and ſoon after he was made ſuperintendant of the botanical garden at Copenhagen, and profeſſor of botany. In 1752 Oeder preſided at the public diſputation of Dr. Peter Aſcanius, and took that occaſion to write on irritability; a ſubject on which the experiments and obſervations of his great maſter had drawn the attention of anatomiſts and phyſicians.

Having performed many journies, accompanied by a draughtſman, into the different provinces of Denmark, and collected great materials for the intended *Flora*, he publiſhed, in 1762, the firſt *faſciculus*; and in 1764, as a part of his plan, his Elements of Botany, in 8vo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of his ſubject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The ſecond volume of the Elements was printed in 1766; and is embelliſhed with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory

explanatory of the technical part of his ſubject. His ſyſtem was intended to compriſe eight claſſes, under the following titles: 1. *Cryptantheræ*; 2. *Monocotyledones*; 3. *Amentaceæ*; 4. *Incompletæ*; 5. *Calycarpæ*; 6. *Calycanthemæ*; 7. *Monopetalæ*; 8. *Polypetalæ*. Of this ſyſtem the author has only exemplified the firſt claſs; which he publiſhed in a ſeparate volume in 1770, in 8vo; and in which are methodically arranged 1239 ſpecies, with the ſpecific names, from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturaliſt has been called from the paths of ſcience by an appointment to an office in the treaſury, where he has ſhowed himſelf no leſs qualified to excel in the civil line.

Upon the publication of the 11th *faſciculus* of the *Flora Danica*, in 1775, the further proſecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederic Muller, a gentleman who has ſince given to the public ſeveral valuable ſpecimens of his knowledge in natural hiſtory; particularly a curious work under the title of *Hiſtoria Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Prodromus*; and is now engaged, under the higheſt patronage, in publiſhing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the

the title of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Icones*, of which two *faſciculi* have made their appearance.

In ſpeaking of the publications on natural hiſtory, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the moſt ſplendid work of the kind ever produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare ſhells, in two volumes, folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuſs, at the royal expence. The firſt volume, which is the only one I have ſeen, contains a ſhort account of the collections of natural hiſtory, and particularly of ſhells, in Denmark; a preliminary diſcourſe on conchology, with a detail of the ſeveral authors who have written on the ſubject, and their different ſyſtems, and 78 complete and delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with ſcientific deſcriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages *.

The kings of Denmark have occaſionally deputed, and ſtill continue to ſend, at their expence, men of learning through their own territories, and into various parts of the world, for the purpoſe of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebek travelled through the Daniſh dominions, and into Sweden, with a view to

* Choix de Coquillages Gravées.

collect

collect documents, charters, and other ſtate papers, relative to the antient hiſtory of the North; and Schoening for the ſame purpoſe, at the expence of prince Frederic. Among others now employed in the execution of the ſame royal plan, Dr. Moldenhauer, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, has lately viſited England and France; and is now in Spain, in order to examine the libraries for manuſcripts in Oriental and claſſical learning. But the literary expedition which reflects the higheſt honour upon the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to be imitated by the other ſovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auſpices of Frederic V. who, at the ſuggeſtion of the late count Bernſdorf, diſpatched four perſons * eminently verſed in different branches of ſcience, to Arabia; of which curious and intereſting journey Niebuhr, the only ſurvivor, has publiſhed a much eſteemed account †.

* Frederic Chriſtian Haven for Oriental languages; Forſkall and Dr. Cramer for natural hiſtory; Niebuhr for hiſtory and geography: they were accompanied by a draughtſman.

† Beſchreibung von Arabien; Reiſe Beſchreibung nach Arabien, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been tranſlated into the French language. Deſcription de l'Arabie. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

CHAP. V.

Departure from Copenhagen.—*Journey through the* Iſle of Zealand.—Roſkild.—*The cathedral.*—*Sepulchres of ſeveral ſovereigns of* Denmark.—*Tombs and characters of* Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret *of* Valdemar.—Chriſtian I.—*Genealogical tables of the kings of* Denmark.—Saxo-Grammaticus.—*Royal ſepulchres at* Ringſted.—*Paſſage acroſs the* Great Belt.—*Iſle of* Funen.—Odenſee.—*Tombs and characters of* John *and* Chriſtian II.—*Paſſage acroſs the* Little Belt.—*Journey through* Sleſwic *and* Holſtein.—*Canal of* Kiel.—*General remarks on the circular ranges of ſtones frequent in* Sweden *and* Denmark.

APRIL 5. Upon quitting Copenhagen, we paſſed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roſkild, formerly the royal reſidence and the metropolis of Denmark. It ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from the bay of Iſefiord; and, in its flouriſhing ſtate, was of great extent, comprizing within its walls 27 churches, and as many convents *. Its preſent cir-

* Holberg, Vol. I. p. 618.

cumference is ſcarcely half an Engliſh mile, and it contains only about 1620 ſouls: the houſes are of brick, and of a neat appearance. The only remains of its original magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick building with two ſpires, in which the kings of Denmark are interred. According to an inſcription in the choir, it was founded * by Harald VI. who is ſtyled king of Denmark, England, and Norway. Some verſes, in barbarous Latin, obſcurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980 †. This Harald, ſurnamed Blaatand, was ſon of Gormo III. called the Old; and was the firſt king of Denmark who embraced the Chriſtian religion. His name occurs in the old Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the 10th century, where he eſtabliſhed his authority over the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, and of Northumberland. But his hiſtory is ſo mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almoſt every incident. He loſt his life in conſequence

* Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was conſtructed of wood, and afterwards built with ſtone in the reign of Canute.

† Funditus haſce Jovi ſummo tunc condidit ædes,
Poſt natale Dei, dum ſcripſimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit ſcandere celſa poli.

of an insurrection headed by his son Sweyn; but whether he was slain in battle, or by order of the rebel party, is not known. Harald was father of a line of kings, who raised the power of Denmark to the highest greatness. His son, Sweyn I. is well known in our annals for his depredations upon the coast of England, and his tributary exactions; and his grandson Canute the Great, who united, in his person, the crowns of England and Denmark, was the most powerful prince of his time. The immediate descendants of Harald Blaatand died and were buried in England; and his male line was extinct in the person of Hardicanute, the last sovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the same cathedral rest the remains of Sweyn II. the first of a line of sovereigns, called the Middle Race. He was son of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who had greatly signalized himself in war, and of Estrida, sister of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roskild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden; and, upon the death of Hardicanute in 1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reason he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the son of Estrida. The states, however, gave the preference to

Magnus the Good, king of Norway; but he dying in 1047, they unanimouſly elected Sweyn, who ſeems, by his abilities, to have deſerved his elevation. In a Latin inſcription, he is called king of England, as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the former crown had been reſtored to the Saxon line in the perſon of Edward the Confeſſor, and was afterwards ſeized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn ſent a fleet againſt England, in order to aſſert his right to the throne, as a lineal deſcendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacuate the iſland through the treachery of his brother. Sweyn is deſcribed by a contemporary hiſtorian *, who perſonally knew him, as a prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accompliſhments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen ſons and two daughters: five of the ſons ſucceſſively filled the throne of Denmark; and his poſterity, in the male line, held it in poſſeſſion until 1387, when Valdemar III. dying without male iſſue, the female branch ſucceeded; firſt in the perſon of Oloff II. ſon of the celebrated Margaret; and upon

* See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontoppidan's Mar. Dan. p. 2.

his

his deceaſe, in that of Margaret herſelf, whoſe aſhes are alſo interred in this cathedral.

The ſepulchre of this remarkable woman, who is generally ſtyled the Semiramis of the North, ſtands conſpicuous in the middle of the church: it is encloſed within a baluſtrade; the monument is of ſtone painted black, and upon it lies the figure of the queen in alabaſter, a whole length, and, as we were informed, her exact ſize when alive. An inſcription upon the tomb, inſtead of enlarging in long fulſome flatteries, ſuch as are uſually paid to ſovereigns, after recording the time of her death, only adds, that "it was raiſed at the "expence of Eric of Pomerania, in memory "of a princeſs whom poſterity could never "ſufficiently honour as ſhe deſerves." Nothing leſs could be ſaid of a perſonage who ſo juſtly claims our reſpect and veneration, and whoſe glorious reign has ſcarcely its parallel in the records of hiſtory. This Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III. and Hedwige his queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may give credit to ſome of the Daniſh hiſtorians, owed her being to a circumſtance as ſingular as her whole life was illuſtrious and eminent. Valdemar, in returning from an hunting party, chanced to repair to the caſtle of Seborg,

where he had confined his conſort Hedwige on account of ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions. Being pleaſed with one of the queen's attendants, he propoſed an interview: the woman feigned compliance, but ſubſtituted her miſtreſs in her ſtead, and Margaret was the fruit of their meeting; which has led a Daniſh hiſtorian * to remark, in the high ſtyle of panegyric, that the good which he unconſciouſly performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compenſated for all the evil actions of his life. In the ſixth year of her age ſhe was betrothed to Haquin, king of Norway, ſon of Magnus king of Sweden, which was the firſt ſtep to her future greatneſs. This marriage, after much oppoſition on the part of the Swedes, was ſolemnized at Copenhagen, in 1363, when ſhe was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave ſo many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin loſt the crown of Sweden; as

* "Regina eadem ſui mariti & pellex, & uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc ſcenam Herculis navitas aut in Alcmenæ ſinu Jupiter decumbens. Sanè autem plus eâ nocte Valdemarus fecit boni inſcius, quàm per omnem vitam ſciens fecerat mali; qui prætioſiſſimam vitam donavit orbi tot regnorum compotem futuram Margaretam, & legem tranſgrediendo, felicem Daniam effecit." Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

induced

induced Valdemar frequently to ſay of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman *.

Upon the demiſe of her father in 1375, ſhe had the addreſs to ſecure the election of her ſon Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the ſon of her eldeſt ſiſter Ingeburga; and upon the death of her huſband Haquin, ſhe ſecured his ſucceſſion to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her adminiſtration was ſo vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, upon his premature death in 1385, ſhe was choſen queen by the ſtates of Denmark; the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, and in which cuſtom had not authorized the election of a female, of a woman being exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous ſuffrages of a warlike people. With the ſame addreſs ſhe procured the crown of Norway; and was equally ſucceſsful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert had been choſen king, and might have preſerved his power, if it had not been his fate to contend with ſuch a rival as Margaret. When, in alluſion to her ſex, he ſtyled her, in deriſion, the king in petticoats, ſhe anſwered

* Pontani Hiſt. Dan. 544.

his reproach by actions, not by words; and made him ſorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himſelf worſted in every engagement; when depoſed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had ſo wantonly inſulted. By the famous union of Calmar, in 1397, ſhe united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, notwithſtanding the averſion of the Swedes to the Daniſh government. But from nothing is the vigour and policy of her conduct more conſpicuous than from this conſideration; that the perpetual revolts and inteſtine convulſions, which continually diſturbed the reigns of the ſovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were ſubdued throughout her whole adminiſtration. This internal tranquillity, more glorious, though leſs ſplendid, than her warlike atchievements, and which was very unuſual in thoſe turbulent times, could only be derived from the over-ruling aſcendency of her ſuperior genius.

This great princeſs died ſuddenly on the 27th of October 1412, in the 60th year of her age, and, if we conclude the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving the three kingdoms to the quiet poſſeſſion of

her ſucceſſor, Eric of Pomerania; and to her ſubjects the regret of her loſs, by the experience of thoſe calamities which broke in upon the ſtate when the ſceptre was wielded by a leſs able hand. Her remains were firſt depoſited at Soroe, but were removed to this cathedral by order of the biſhop of Roſkild *.

All the ſovereigns of the houſe of Oldenburgh, which ſtill poſſeſſes the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roſkield, excepting John, Chriſtian II. and Frederic I.

Chriſtian I. the father of this line, lies in a ſmall chapel, without any monument or inſcription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal deſcent from Eric VII. as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus duke of Sleſwick. Upon the death of Chriſtopher of Bavaria without iſſue, the ſtates of Denmark offered the throne to Adolphus, as the neareſt in blood to the deceaſed monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Chriſtian, then

* Hic primùm ſepulta, ſed poſtea per Dominum Petrum Epiſcopum Roſkildenſem violenter tranſlata, & Roſkildis ſepulta. Langebek, Tom. IV. p. 542.

in

in the 22d year of his age: this event happened in 1448; and in the ſame year he was permitted alſo to aſcend the throne of Norway, in right of his deſcent from one of their antient kings. He obtained the crown of Sweden in 1558, upon the depoſition of Charles Canutſon; but wore it only a ſhort time, as well through his own inactivity, as through the averſion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Chriſtian I. reigned three-and-twenty years; a ſovereign of great moderation and humanity; whoſe qualities, being leſs ſhining than ſolid, were more adapted to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is juſtly characteriſed by an hiſtorian, as one of thoſe princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never beſtows upon a nation but as a ſignal mark of his favour *.

The ſucceſſors of Chriſtian I. who are buried in the ſame church, ſeem in general to have inherited his pacific qualities; as all, except Frederic II. and V. and Chriſtian IV. were princes

* "Plus grand aux yeux da la ſaine raiſon qu'à ceux du "vulgaire, il fut peut-être un de ces princes que les peu-"ples ne louent que foiblement, mais que le Ciel ne leur "accorde que quand il veut leur prouver ſon amour." Mallet, Hiſt. de Dan. Tom. II. p. 95.

of

of mild and temperate diſpoſitions; patrons of the arts and ſciences, rather than enterprizing in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory; and for the moſt part ſhrunk before the daring ſpirit which animated the rival houſe of Vaſa.

In the ſame chapel are the tombs of Chriſtian III. and Frederic II. Their ſuperb monuments, executed in Italy, at the expence of Chriſtian IV. are elegantly carved, and are eſteemed maſter-pieces of ſculpture. The ſtatues of the two ſovereigns are repreſented as large as life, under a canopy of ſtone, ſupported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the baſſo relievos round the mauſoleum of Frederic II. repreſenting that prince's battles, are juſty admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Chriſtian IV. juſtly called, by Mr. Wraxall, the Idol of Daniſh Hiſtory: his body is depoſited in a coffin covered with velvet, ornamented with ſilver trophies, eſcutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

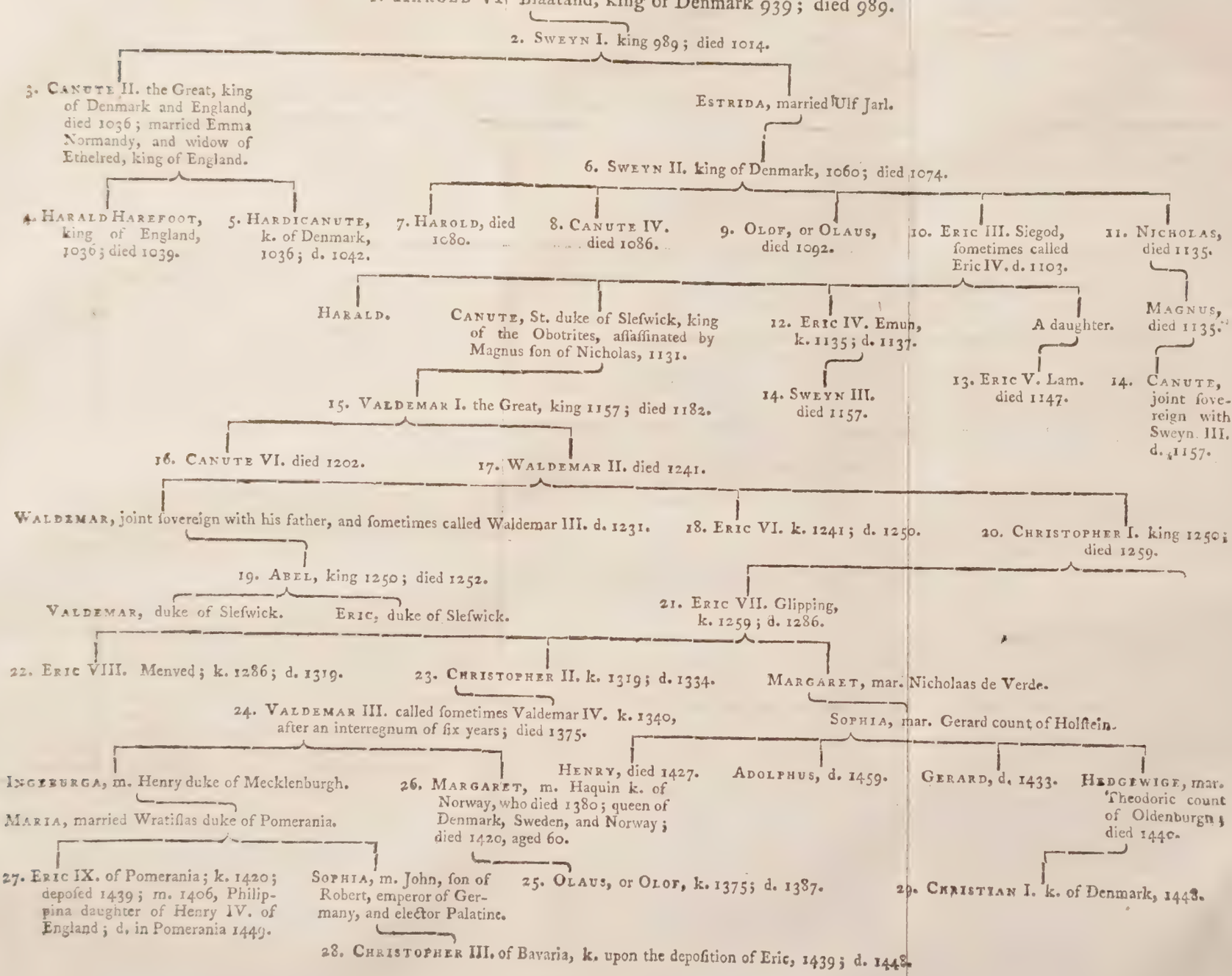
It would be tedious to enumerate the other ſepulchres of the royal family, moſt of which are loaded with inſcriptions of great length; the reader, who is deſirous of further information, will find them accurately tranſcribed in Pontop-

Pontoppidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in Travels through Denmark, publiſhed in 1702.

The following genealogical tables trace in regular deſcent the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaatand to the preſent ſovereign.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK, from HARALD BLAATAND to CHRISTIAN I.


1. Harold VI. Blaatand, king of Denmark 939; died 989.
2. Sweyn I. king 989; died 1014.
3. Canute II. the Great, king of Denmark and England, died 1036; married Emma Normandy, and widow of Ethelred, king of England.
Estrida, married Ulf Jarl.
6. Sweyn II. king of Denmark, 1060; died 1074.
4. Harald Harefoot, king of England, 1036; died 1039.
5. Hardicanute, k. of Denmark, 1036; d. 1042.
7. Harold, died 1080.
8. Canute IV. died 1086.
9. Olof, or Olaus, died 1092.
10. Eric III. Siegod, sometimes called Eric IV. d. 1103.
11. Nicholas, died 1135.
Harald.
Canute, St. duke of Slefwick, king of the Obotrites, aſſaſſinated by Magnus ſon of Nicholas, 1131.
12. Eric IV. Emun, k. 1135; d. 1137.
A daughter.
Magnus, died 1135.
14. Sweyn III. died 1157.
13. Eric V. Lam. died 1147.
14. Canute, joint ſovereign with Sweyn III. d. 1157.
15. Valdemar I. the Great, king 1157; died 1182.
16. Canute VI. died 1202.
17. Waldemar II. died 1241.
Waldemar, joint ſovereign with his father, and ſometimes called Waldemar III. d. 1231.
18. Eric VI. k. 1241; d. 1250.
20. Christopher I. king 1250; died 1259.
19. Abel, king 1250; died 1252.
Valdemar, duke of Slefwick.
Eric, duke of Slefwick.
21. Eric VII. Glipping, k. 1259; d. 1286.
22. Eric VIII. Menved; k. 1286; d. 1319.
23. Christopher II. k. 1319; d. 1334.
Margaret, mar. Nicholaas de Verde.
24. Valdemar III. called ſometimes Valdemar IV. k. 1340, after an interregnum of ſix years; died 1375.
Sophia, mar. Gerard count of Holſtein.
Ingeburga, m. Henry duke of Mecklenburgh.
Maria, married Wratiſlas duke of Pomerania.
26. Margaret, m. Haquin k. of Norway, who died 1380; queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; died 1420, aged 60.
Henry, died 1427.
Adolphus, d. 1459.
Gerard, d. 1433.
Hedgewige, mar. Theodoric count of Oldenburgh; died 1440.
27. Eric IX. of Pomerania; k. 1420; depoſed 1439; m. 1406, Philippina daughter of Henry IV. of England; d. in Pomerania 1449.
Sophia, m. John, ſon of Robert, emperor of Germany, and elector Palatine.
25. Olaus, or Olof, k. 1375; d. 1387.
29. Christian I. k. of Denmark, 1448.
28. Christopher III. of Bavaria, k. upon the depoſition of Eric, 1439; d. 1448.

Genealogical

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK of the Houſe of OLDENBURGH.

I. CHRISTIAN I. count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, 1448; died 1481.

II. JOHN, died 1513.

MARGARET, mar. James III. k. of Scotland.

IV. FREDERIC I. k. upon the depoſition of Chriſtian II. in 1523; d. 1533; mar. 1. Anne of Brandenburgh; 2. Sophia, princeſs of Pomerania Stettin.

III. CHRISTIAN II. depoſed 1523; m. Elizabeth ſiſter of the emperor Charles V. died 1559.

JOHN, died 1532, at Ratſbon, aged 14.

DOROTHY, m. in 1532, Frederic II. elector palatine; and died 1580, without iſſue.

CHRISTINA, m. 1. Francis Sforza duke of Milan; 2. Francis duke of Loraine, from whom deſcended, in a regular line, Francis late emperor of Germany.

V. CHRISTIAN III. died 1558; m. Dorothy of Saxe Lawenburgh.

ADOLPHUS, author of the line of the dukes of Holſtein-Gottorp, from whom deſcended Peter III. of Ruſſia.

ELIZABETH, m. Ulric duke of Mecklenburgh.

SOPHIA, m. Frederic II.

VI. FREDERIC II. b. 1534; d. 1588; m. Sophia princeſs of Mecklenburgh.

MAGNUS, b. 1540; biſhop of Æſel and Pilten, and titular k. of Livonia; d. 1583.

JOHN, duke of Sleſwick, b. 1545; died 1622; author of the branches of Sonderborg, Norborg, Glückſborg, and Plæn.

DOROTHY, b. 1546; m. Maximilian duke of Luneburgh; from whom the electors of Hanover.

ELIZABETH, b. 1573; m. Henry duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh.

ANNE, b. 1574; m. James king of England.

VII. CHRISTIAN IV. b. 1577; d. 1648; m. Anne Catharine princeſs of Brandenburgh.

JOHN, b. 1583; died at Moſcow 1602.

CHRISTIAN, b. 1603; died 1647.

VIII. FREDERIC III. b. 1609; d. 1670; m. Sophia Amelia princeſs of Brunſwick Lunenburgh.

ULRIC, d. 1603.

IX. CHRISTIAN V. b. 1646; d. 1699; m. Charlotte Amelia of Heſſe-Caſſel.

GEORGE, b. 1653; m. Anne queen of England.

Several daughters, among whom Ulrica Eleonora, m. to Charles XI. king of Sweden.

X. FREDERIC IV. b. 1671; d. 1730.

XI. CHRISTIAN VI. b. 1699; d. 1746; mar. Chriſtina Sophia princeſs of Brandenburgh Bareith.

XII. FREDERIC V. born 1723; died 1766; mar. 1. Louiſa, daughter of George II. king of England; 2. Juliana Maria, daughter of Ferdinand Albert of Brunſwick-Wolfenbottel.

XIII. CHRISTIAN VII. b. 1749; mar. Matilda, ſiſter of George III. king of England.

SOPHIA MAGDALENA, b. 1746; m. Guſtavus III. the preſent king of Sweden.

WILHELMINA CAROLINA, b. 1750; m. William hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel.

LOUISA, b. 1750; m. Charles ſecond ſon of Frederic, Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel.

FREDERIC, b. 1753; m. Sophia Frederica princeſs of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.

In

In addition to the royal ſepulchres which I obſerved at Roſkild, I ſhall mention that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the moſt antient Daniſh hiſtorian.

Saxo, deſcended from an illuſtrious Daniſh * family, was born about the middle of the 12th century †; and on account of his uncommon learning, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Gammaticus*. He was provoſt of the cathedral church of Roſkild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Abſalon, the celebrated archbiſhop of Lunden, at whoſe inſtigation he wrote the hiſtory of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyric in bad Latin verſes, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His hiſtory, conſiſting of 16 books, begins from the earlieſt account of the Daniſh annals, and concludes with the year 1186. Accord-

* Some authors have erroneouſly conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the antient Danes. See Olaus Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 186, and Stephens's Prolegomena, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo-Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, indubitably proves, that he muſt have been alive in 1156, but cannot aſcertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's Prolegomena to the Notes on Saxo-Grammaticus, p. 8 to 24; alſo Holberg, Vol. I. p. 269; and Mallet's North. Antiq. Vol. I. p. 4.

ing

ing to the opinion of an accurate writer *, the firſt part, which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the antient kings, is full of fables; but the eight laſt books, and particularly thoſe which regard the events of his own times, deſerve the utmoſt credit. He wrote in Latin; the ſtyle, if we conſider the barbarous age in which he flouriſhed, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for hiſtory †.

After having ſatisfied our curioſity in examining the tombs of Roſkild, we continued our journey; and paſſed the night at Ringſted, a ſmall, but neat, town, ſituated almoſt in the centre of the iſland: it is ſaid by ſome antiquaries to have been built by Sigurd Ring, king of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion ſeems merely founded on the ſimilarity of the name Ring. The church, which is eſteemed the moſt antient Chriſtian

* Holberg.

† Mallet, in his Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, Vol. I. p. 182, ſays, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has "proved, in contradiction to the aſſertions of Stephens and "others, that Saxo-Grammaticus was ſecretary to Abſa-"lon; and that the Saxo provoſt of Roſkild was another "perſon, and lived earlier." If ſo, Saxo-Grammaticus, the hiſtorian, is probably not buried at Roſkild. Be this particular as it may, the reader will not, it is hoped, be diſpleaſed with the account of an author ſo little known as Saxo-Grammaticus.

temple

temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low ſquare towers. Within, ſeveral Daniſh kings of the houſe of Sweyn II. are interred. The tombs are much more ſimple than thoſe at Roſkild; being generally plain ſtones level with the pavement, exhibiting a figure in armour carved in flat braſs, or on the naked ſtone, with Latin inſcriptions, moſtly effaced by time. A few of the ſepulchres, which are ſomewhat more modern, are raiſed in the ſhape of coffins. The firſt ſovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I. who expired in 1182: and the laſt is Eric VIII. ſurnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We purſued our route to Corſoer, the place of embarkation, upon the Great Belt, which ſeparates the Iſle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corſoer ſtands upon the weſtern point of the Iſle of Zealand on a ſmall peninſula: it has a good harbour for light veſſels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and baſtions, with a few uſeleſs cannon, more for form than ſervice. It contains the commander's houſe, which was formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garriſoned by a few invalids.

Zealand, which we croſſed in our way from Copenhagen to Corſoer, is the largeſt of the iſles belonging to the king of Denmark, being about 700 miles in circumference. That

part

part which we traverſed appears a gently waving ſurface; for the moſt part open, dotted occaſionally with ſmall woods of beech and oak, and diverſified with beautiful lakes. The iſland is exceedingly fertile: it produces grain of all ſorts, and in great plenty; abounds with excellent paſture; and is particularly famous for its breed of horſes. The fields, which ſeemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into incloſures, ſeparated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-waſhed.

April 8. The wind blowing high and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corſoer; and, upon its ſhifting, we embarked for the Iſle of Funen: the diſtance between the neareſt points on each coaſt is about 18 miles. About mid-day we paſſed the ſmall iſland of Sproe, near which lay a guard-ſhip, for the purpoſe of exacting the toll from all veſſels which paſſed between that iſland and Zealand: other ſhips pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings; a ſmall inn for the occaſional refreſhment of the guard-ſhip's crew; and a neat farm-houſe. It produces grain and paſture. Upon the top of an height overlooking the ſea, we obſerved the ruins of an antient fortreſs; which, as the ſailors informed us, formerly belonged to pirates

rates, who uſed to reſort in great numbers to this iſland, that ſeemed well adapted for that purpoſe.

After a favourable paſſage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a ſmall well-built town, in the Iſle of Funen, ſtanding upon a commodious bay. The town is ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garriſoned by a company of invalids. An inſcription over an old ſquare building informed me, that Chriſtian III. ſon of Frederic I. raiſed the fortifications. Towards the ſkirts of the town, and cloſe to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Chriſtian II. was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer * relates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the leaſt harm.

In the afternoon we reached Odenſee, the capital of the Iſle of Funen; a place of ſuch high antiquity, that ſome Daniſh writers derive its foundation and name from Oden, the god and hero of the Gothic nations. But leaving ſuch diſquiſitions to the antiquaries of the country, I ſhall only obſerve, that its name occurs in the earlieſt ages of the Daniſh hiſtory; and that it was a town of

* Svaning Vit. Chriſt. II.

great note long before Copenhagen exiſted. Odenſee ſtands upon a ſmall river, which is not navigable, and about two miles from the Bay of Stegeſtrand. Many of the houſes are antient, bearing dates about the middle of the 16th century; but part is newly built: it contains about 5200 inhabitants, who carry on ſome commerce, exporting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much eſteemed, and its goodneſs is ſuppoſed to ariſe from a certain property in the river water, in which it is ſoaked for tanning. The Daniſh cavalry are ſupplied from thence with the greateſt part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odenſee is the ſeat of a biſhop, which was founded by Harald Blaatand in 980, and is the richeſt in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a ſchool, endowed by the celebrated Margaret of Valdemar, in which a certain number of ſcholars, from ſix to ſixteen years of age, are inſtructed gratis: they live and board in the town, and each receives a yearly penſion; other ſcholarſhips have been alſo founded by private perſons. The whole number amounted to ſeventy. There is alſo a *gymnaſium*, inſtituted by Chriſtian IV. for the admiſſion of ſtudents at the age of ſixteen. This ſeminary was ſtill further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Daniſh hiſtorian,

who

who protected letters with the same zeal with which he cultivated them. It is now greatly fallen from its former flourishing state, containing, when I passed through the town, only eight students. The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except some costly monuments of a private Danish family. The church, which formerly belonged to the convent of Recolets, contains the sepulchre of John king of Denmark, and of his son Christian II.

John ascended the throne in 1481, upon the death of his father Christian I. and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, he obtained the crown of Sweden; which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February 1513, having on his death-bed forcibly admonished his son Christian II.; admonitions which could have but little effect upon a breast already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wisely, if he had endeavoured to render his son's infant mind capable of receiving the impressions of virtue, and had not shamefully neglected his education: a crime highly reprehensible in a father, because it can never be remedied; but unpardonable in a sovereign, who is perhaps

rearing a tyrant for his ſubjects, and entailing upon his country a ſeries of evils, for which he is himſelf chiefly accountable. Hiſtorians agree in repreſenting John as a wiſe and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprizing in war; and as generally moderate and humane: admitting, however, that he perpetrated occaſional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a ſpecies of melancholy madneſs, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his ſenſes.

His ſon, the cruel and unfortunate Chriſtian II. is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-ſtone, ſomewhat raiſed, but without any inſcription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July 1481; and diſcovered in his youth many ſymptoms of a lively genius and a good underſtanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, inſtead of becoming, as he proved, the diſhonour of his country. The young prince was entruſted to a common burgher of Copenhagen; and was afterwards removed to the houſe of a ſchool-maſter, who was alſo a canon of the cathedral. In this latter ſituation his chief employment conſiſted in regularly accompanying his maſter to church, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the

other ſcholars and choriſters in chanting and ſinging pſalms. From thence he was placed under the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a conſiderable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Chriſtian imbibed a taſte for bad company; was accuſtomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the loweſt of the populace, to ſcour the ſtreets, and to be guilty of every exceſs. The king at length, informed of theſe irregularities, reproved him ſeverely; but as the prince had already contracted thoſe bad habits, which were grown too ſtrong to yield to any effort, theſe admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his paſt behaviour; and again won the affections of his father by his military ſucceſſes in Norway, and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the firſt years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his adminiſtration was in many reſpects worthy of praiſe; and the excellence of many of his laws, which it would be unjuſt to deny, has induced Holberg * to affirm, that if the character of Chriſtian II.

* Dan. Geſ. vol. II. p. 94.

was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himself, and his people, if he had continued his reign upon the same principles.

At first all his enterprizes were crowned with success: he abridged the power of the Danish nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conquest, and was even proclaimed hereditary sovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate use of these advantages might have ensured to him a long and undisturbed possession of the throne; if his natural disposition, now freed from all restraint by prosperity, had not hurried him to the perpetration of the most flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful massacre of Stockholm, in which six hundred of the principal nobility were put to the sword, under the semblance of law, and amid the rejoicings of his coronation, exhibited such a striking instance of his malignant and implacable character; that, upon the revolt of Gustavus Vasa, the spirit of resistance diffused itself rapidly from Sweden to Denmark; where he had exasperated his subjects by repeated cruelties and oppressions, and the sole confidence which he placed in the lowest and most unworthy

unworthy favourites *. In 1523 he was publicly depoſed by the ſtates of Denmark; and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederic

* The firſt of theſe favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's miſtreſs Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen in Norway, even after her daughter's death retained ſuch power that ſhe might be ſtyled prime miniſter: ſhe was the only channel of his favours; tranſacted all affairs of importance; had the care of the finances; ſuperintended the cuſtoms of the Sound; and had, in a word, acquired ſuch a wonderful aſcendency over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to faſcination. Upon the king's depoſition, Sigrebit was ſo much deteſted, that, from apprehenſions of the popular fury, ſhe was conveyed in a cheſt on board of the veſſel which carried Chriſtian from Denmark. Holberg adds, that ſhe conſoled the king for the loſs of his crown, by aſſuring him, that, through the emperor's intereſt, he could not fail of being choſen burgomaſter of Amſterdam. The further particulars of this woman's life, ſubſequent to her eſcape from Denmark, are not known.

The other favourite of Chriſtian II. no leſs infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbec, originally a barber of Weſtphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himſelf ſo uſeful to Chriſtian by his ſanguinary advice at the maſſacre of Stockholm, and by being the inſtrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbiſhopric of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw upon his favourite all the odium of the maſſacre, and ſacrificed him to the public vengeance; the unfortunate victim was firſt racked, and then burnt alive, exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be repoſed in the favour of a tyrant.

duke of Holſtein. This depoſition was neither the conſequence of Frederic's intrigues, nor of the ſpirit of party; but was occaſioned by the juſt and univerſal deteſtation which pervaded all ranks of people; and as it was the general ſenſe of the nation, it had more the appearance of a new election upon the demiſe of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a deſpot of his throne. Chriſtian himſelf was indeed ſo ſenſible of the general odium; that, though by no means deficient in perſonal courage; he yet made not the leaſt effort to retain poſſeſſion of that throne which he had ſo often diſhonoured. Upon quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V. whoſe ſiſter Iſabella he had married. After many delays and ſolicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's aſſiſtance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Daniſh dominions: his attempts, however, proving unſucceſsful, he fell, in 1532, into the hands of Frederic I. and was conſigned a priſoner to the caſtle of Sunderborg, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Iſle of Alſen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a ſmall window, admitting only a few rays of light, and through which his proviſions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy

gloomy cell, with a favourite dwarf, the ſole companion of his miſery, the door was inſtantly walled up. Even the horrors of this ſituation were aggravated by the death of his only ſon John, who expired at Ratiſbon in the 15th year of his age, and on the ſame day in which his father was taken priſoner. The premature deceaſe of this accompliſhed prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he reſted his ſole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a ſtate of deſpondency. After much anxious ſolicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful ſituation to his daughter the electreſs Palatine, and to the emperor Charles V. the king prevailed upon the dwarf to counterfeit ſickneſs, and to requeſt that he might be removed from the priſon for the recovery of his health. If he ſhould ſucceed, he was to ſeize the firſt opportunity of eſcaping from the Daniſh dominions to the court of the electreſs, in order that ſhe might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for ſome alleviation of her father's ſufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned ſickneſs, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his eſcape; but was overtaken at Rendſburgh, ſcarcely a day's journey from the Daniſh confines.

Chriſtian, fruſtrated in this attempt, and deprived

deprived of his faithful aſſociate, lingered for ſome time without any companion; until an old ſoldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, voluntarily offered to ſhare the king's impriſonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon, afforded conſtant amuſement to the royal priſoner, by various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enliſted; and by deſcribing thoſe expeditions and battles in which he had been preſent. And, as he had ſerved from his earlieſt youth, was a perſon of much obſervation, and by nature extremely loquacious, he aſſiſted in relieving the *tædium* of Chriſtian's captivity. Nor did any event, ſcarcely the loſs of his ſon, ever more ſenſibly affect the royal priſoner, than the death of this ſoother of his miſery, who expired in the dungeon. After continuing eleven years in his original cell, without being once permitted to quit it, he was at length, through the interceſſion of Charles V. removed to a commodious apartment in the ſame caſtle; was provided with ſuitable attendants; ſometimes indulged with the liberty of viſiting in the town, attending divine ſervice in the public church, and of hunting in the neighbouring diſtrict. Yet even this change of ſituation, which had been ſo long the ſole object of his wiſhes, could not make him forget that he was ſtill a priſoner; the recol-

lection

lection of which affected him occaſionally to ſuch a degree, that he would, even in his moſt cheerful moments, ſuddenly burſt into tears; throw himſelf upon the ground; utter the moſt bitter lamentations; and continue for ſome time in a ſtate approaching to inſanity.

However deſervedly odious Chriſtian II. may have appeared in the former parts of his life, yet his ſubſequent ſufferings may be conſidered as a ſufficient atonement; and it is a pleaſing ſatisfaction to every humane mind, that he at length ſeems to have recovered from his deſpondency, and to have acquieſced in his fate with the moſt perfect reſignation. At length, in 1546, after a confinement of ſixteen years and ſeven months in the caſtle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the Iſle of Zealand; a place to which he had been particularly attached. Chriſtian III. repaired in perſon to Aſſens; where he received his fallen rival with every mark of attention; and aſſured him that he ſhould enjoy every comfort which could tend to alleviate his ſituation. Theſe unuſual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced ſo much miſery, and the proſpect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited ſuch tranſports of joy,

joy, that he compared himſelf to a perſon recalled from death *.

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the ſatisfaction of finding theſe promiſes religiouſly fulfilled. He ſurvived this happy change ten years; and his mind had been ſo ſoftened by adverſity, that, old as he was, his death was ſaid to be haſtened by his affliction for the loſs of his benefactor Chriſtian III. He died on the 24th of January 1559, in the 78th year of his age, and in the 36th from the period of his depoſition †.

April 9th, we arrived at Aſſens, juſt mentioned as the place of meeting between Chriſtian II. and Chriſtian III.; it ſtands upon the Little Belt, a ſtrait of the Baltic, which ſeparates the Iſle of Funen from the continent.

* "Trajicientem autem in Fioniam Chriſtianus cum "fratre, qui tum Aſſaniæ erat ad colloquendum invitant. "Ibi habita oratio a Chriſtiano, nonnullis ſenatorum præ- "ſentibus, ipſius moderatione digna, quæ non erat for- "tunam exprobantis, aut memoriam ſcelerum repetentis; "ſed maxime ſtudium pietatis & tolerantiam intendebat. "Juſſuſque ſperare omnia, quæ ad vitam lætius & honeſ- "tius tolerandam eſſent, ſi modo in fide maneret. Quibus "ille non ſecus animo exhilaratur, *ac ſi morte extractus*, "*novam lucem intueretur*." Cragii Annal. Chriſt. III. p. 324.

† Theſe particulars of Chriſtian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaningii Vita Chriſtiani Secundi.

This

This iſland is about 340 miles in circumference; is remarkably fertile in paſture and grain; and exports annually to Norway, barley, oats, rye, and peaſe. The country is open, with a gently undulating ſurface; and its coaſts are generally flat and ſandy.

The paſſage acroſs the Little Belt is only nine miles; but as the wind was contrary, we were engaged five hours in performing it. We landed upon the duchy of Sleſwick, at Arroe-Sund, ſo called from the little iſland Arroe, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we paſſed through ſeveral ſmall, but neat towns, beautifully ſituated upon inlets of the Baltic, and particularly Flendſburgh, a place of conſiderable commerce. The inhabitants poſſeſs at leaſt 200 veſſels; and carry on no inconſiderable trade to the Weſt Indies. They traffic alſo to Norway, where they procure ſalted fiſh, which they carry to the Mediterranean; and bring back wines and dried fruits to Holland, Peterſburgh, and the ports of the Baltic.

The duchy of Sleſwick, ſometimes called South Jutland, is ſeparated from Holſtein, or the king of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregular town of great length, and contains about 5630 inhabitants. The houſes are of brick; and, like

like thoſe of all the other towns in the country, reſemble in neatneſs and manner of building thoſe of Holland: the inhabitants dreſs alſo like the Dutch; and many of them ſpeak their tongue, though the uſual languages are the German and Daniſh. Cloſe to Sleſwick is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal reſidence, at preſent inhabited by the ſtadtholder, or governor, prince Charles of Heſſe-Caſſel, who married Louiſa princeſs of Denmark. It is a large brick edifice, ſurrounded by a rampart and moat: from this caſtle the ducal line, formed by Adolphus ſon of Frederic I. king of Denmark, was denominated Holſtein-Gottorp, which ſtill ſubſiſts in the perſon of the preſent great-duke of Ruſſia.

That part of the duchy which we traverſed ſeemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occaſionally exhibited variegated landſcapes of heath, arable land, and paſture, encloſed with quickſet hedges, and ſtudded at intervals with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houſes had the appearance of great neatneſs. We paſſed alſo ranges of new cottages, lately erected for coloniſts at the expence of the crown. They are ſpacious, and reſemble thoſe of Weſtphalia, containing, under the ſame roof, a large barn, with diviſions

for the cattle on each ſide, and two rooms at the further end for the family. Each family is ſupplied with ploughs, carts, and other neceſſary implements of agriculture, two horſes, and a penſion during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleſwick we quitted that duchy, and at Rendſburgh croſſed the Eyder into Holſtein; which river is conſidered as forming on this ſide the limits of Germany; and is ſuppoſed to have been the boundary of the Roman empire: a tradition recorded in the following verſe, hewn over the gate of the old town,

Eydora Romani terminus imperii.

Rendſburgh is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Daniſh territories. The town, which contains about 3600 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, ſcarcely poſſeſſing three veſſels. It muſt ſoon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will neceſſarily introduce a conſiderable degree of commerce. The laſt ſluice is to be conſtructed at Rendſburgh. The river Eyder is navigable for large veſſels to within a ſhort diſtance of the town, while thoſe of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which riſes near four feet, brings ſand into

into its channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coasts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We passed between the Wetter and Flemhuder Lakes; and again crossed the Eyder, there only a small rivulet, which flows from the former into the latter, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The district of Kiel is that portion of the duchy of Holstein, which descended to the line of Holstein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III. as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the present empress of Russia ceded it to the king of Denmark, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, which she gave to the prince bishop of Lubec. This exchange was very favourable to Denmark, as the king now possesses the whole duchy of Holstein; and the intended junction of the Baltic and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Danish territories.

Kiel possesses an university for the German subjects of Denmark, which was founded in 1650 by Christian Albert, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and has lately been considerably enlarged by his present majesty. It contains 24 professors, and about 300 students. The

town

town ſtands upon a ſmall peninſula in a bay of the Baltic, and has a very commodious harbour for ſhips of the largeſt ſize. It is already one of the moſt commercial places of Holſtein; and its trade will be ſtill further augmented when the inland navigation acroſs the peninſula is finiſhed; of which I am enabled, partly from my own inſpection, and partly from information obtained on the ſpot, to give the following deſcription.

The inland navigation, for the junction of the two ſeas, is to be formed acroſs the duchy of Holſtein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which paſſes by Rendſburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The canal begins about three miles North of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewenſawe, which heretofore ſeparated Holſtein from Sleſwick, and will form a new boundary between thoſe two duchies. The diſtance from its beginning to the laſt ſluice at Rendſburgh is 27 Engliſh miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about 6 miles and ¼ above Rendſburgh, and only requires to be deepened in ſome places; the cut which is neceſſary for the completion of the water communication between the two ſeas is only 20 miles and ½.

The canal was begun in July 1777; and in April 1779, when I examined it, had been

carried about ſix miles, as far as Suckdorf; and it was computed that the whole would be completed in 1784. The work was performed by contract; 1024 cubic feet* of earth were taken out for 8 *s.*; and the whole expence was to amount to about £. 200,000. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the higheſt point, on each ſide whereof the waters take different courſes to the Baltic and German Ocean: in this part the ground muſt be opened to the depth of 50 feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltic is 25 feet 6 inches; and that towards the ocean 23; and the veſſels will be raiſed or let down by means of the ſix following ſluices: Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendſburgh. The breadth of the cut is 100 feet at top, and 54 at bottom; the ſluices are 27 feet in breadth, and 100 in length; and the loweſt depth of water 10 feet. The canal will be furniſhed with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the lakes Flemhuder and Weſter, and from thence to Rendſburgh by the Wetter lake, from which flows a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Common merchantmen of about 120 tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

* The foot uſed in this chapter is to the Engliſh as 21 to 22.

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The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inſpection of the map of Denmark. At preſent even the ſmalleſt veſſels, trading from any part of the Daniſh dominions in the Baltic to the Northern Sea, muſt make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by oppoſite winds. This navigation is ſo tedious, that goods ſhipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unuſually ſent by ſea only to Lubec, and from thence by land to Hamburgh. But the completion of this canal will enable veſſels of a certain burden to paſs immediately from the Baltic into the German Ocean; proceed, without unlading, to Hamburgh; or ſail to Holland, which, in times of war, receives great ſupplies of ſugar, and other Weſt Indian commodities, from Denmark.

April the 12th. After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in about 18 miles, reached a ſmall village beautifully ſeated between two lakes, in the midſt of a romantic country, interſperſed with ſeveral foreſts of beech and oak. The largeſt of theſe lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which were adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the duchy, which eſcheated to the king of Denmark in 1761,

upon the deceaſe of the laſt duke Charles without iſſue male. The palace, formerly the ducal reſidence, riſing in the midſt of the town, on an elevated ſpot of ground, and overlooking the lake, was a pictureſque object. On the enſuing morning we traverſed a waving and variegated country, abounding in paſture, corn, and pleaſantly ſprinkled with wood; and, after a few miles, we quitted his Daniſh majeſty's dominions; and arrived about midday at Lubec.

During my progreſs through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curioſity, many of thoſe regular circles of ſtones which are ſo frequently ſcattered over the face, not only of theſe countries, but our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the courſe of this work, I ſhall firſt deſcribe thoſe which fell under my immediate obſervation; and ſhall then throw together a few remarks upon their probable origin and deſtination.

In the province of Weſt Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I obſerved upon the top of an hill two rude maſſes of red granite, placed upright on each ſide of the high road. The talleſt meaſured 15 feet in height, five ſpans and an half in breadth; the other was about 12 feet high, ſix ſpans broad, and both

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were no more than four inches thick. In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of ſtones ſet up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general diſpoſition. I counted at leaſt ten of theſe circles; and among the moſt perfect, one of eight ſtones, whoſe diameter meaſured five paces, and another of ten, whoſe diameter was ſeven; the generality were from two to four feet in height and the higheſt did not exceed ten. Again, cloſe to Skillinge, the neareſt poſt to Carlſcrona, are ſeveral ſimilar remains upon a rocky eminence, which conſiſt of many oval or circular ranges: the greateſt part were in their rough ſtate; a few were hewn flat and broad, and others ſomewhat reſembled pillars pointed at top in the rudeſt manner. At the ſummit of the rock ſeveral concentric ranges incloſed a ſpace of about ten feet diameter, in the center of which ſtood two flat ſtones, ſcarcely three feet in height, placed edgeways, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flouriſhed in that ſpot. It appeared to me like an oak; and a perſon attached to the hypotheſis, that ſuch circles of ſtone are druidical relics, might, with a

ſmall degree of enthuſiaſm, have conſidered this very tree as the central oak; if he could ſuppoſe that the religion of the Druids was ever eſtabliſhed in theſe Northern kingdoms. The largeſt of theſe ſtones was about 12 feet in height. On the ſouthern ſide of the ſame village were ſimilar monuments of antiquity, the higheſt of which meaſured 18 feet; and we continually obſerved remains of the ſame through Sweden.

In the Daniſh iſles, as well as in Sleſwick and Holſtein, theſe circles occurred no leſs frequently than in Sweden; but none of the ſtones were of any ſize, few which fell under my obſervation exceeding ſix or ſeven feet; and the greateſt part were not more than two or three in height. In ſome parts I alſo noticed two placed edgeways, and upon them an unformed maſs of ſtone laid in an horizontal poſition. One of theſe monuments is thus deſcribed in colonel Floyd's Journal:

"About three or four Engliſh miles from "Corſoer, at the extremity of a wood, ſtand-"ing on a promontory, I found one of the "moſt perfect of thoſe antient monuments. "I obſerved a large mound of earth, on the "ſummit of which large conical granite ſtones, "ſtanding at ſmall intervals from each other, "encloſed an oval ſpace of a very conſiderable "extent.

"extent. In the center and higheſt point, "a huge, ſhapeleſs maſs of granite was laid "horizontally on four other ſtones, almoſt "buried beneath the ſurface of the ground. "Near it was another mound, on the top of "which another large ſtone was placed in a "ſimilar manner on four others. I remarked "ſome veſtiges of trenches; but as the place "was covered with underwood, and as night "approached, I could not trace their di-"rection."

In anſwer to many inquiries in ſeveral parts of Sweden, concerning the origin of theſe antient relics, the peaſants generally anſwered, that they were erected by a race of giants formerly inhabiting theſe countries. I ſhall here take notice, that we have many ſimilar monuments in our iſland; and particularly that the Rol-rich ſtones near Burford in Oxfordſhire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple, as deſcribed by Stukeley*; ſome of thoſe which are delineated in Borlaſe's Antiquities of Cornwall; and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant † has given an engraving in his Tour to Scotland,

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 4. Tab. III. p. 40, & Tab. XXI.

† Tour into Scotland, and annexed plate.

ſeem to approach neareſt in their general appearance to thoſe which I obſerved in Sweden and Denmark. I cannot, however, but add, that Olaus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any reſemblance between the ſtupendous fabric of Stone Henge, and theſe trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity; and ſtill more erroneous in concluding, from that fanciful reſemblance, that Stone Henge * was conſtructed

* It is curious to trace the different ſyſtems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge; and to obſerve upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypotheſis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled, "Stone Henge reſtored," endeavours to aſcertain, but without ſufficient proof, that it was a Roman temple, conſecrated to Cœlum, and conſtructed between the times of Agricola and Conſtantine the Great.—Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his "Stone Henge reſtored to the "Danes," entirely overturns the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones; and contends, with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who overran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Eſq; in "A Vindication of Stone Henge "reſtored," refutes, with much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of Inigo Jones. Some ſuppoſe it to have been erected in memory of 460 Britons maſſacred by Hengiſt; a chimerical notion ariſing merely from the ſimilarity of the words Henge

conſtructed by our Anglo Saxon anceſtors, who migrated from theſe Northern parts.

Endleſs controverſies have ariſen among the learned concerning their origin and deſtination; and each author maintains that they were raiſed by that particular nation, or ſect, as beſt ſuits his favourite hypotheſis. Thus they are ſtyled by different authors, Celtic, Cambrian, Gothic, Daniſh *, Saxon, Pictic;

Henge and Hengiſt; others, that it was raiſed in honour of Aurelius Ambroſius, the laſt Britiſh king; and a few, that it was a ſepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the Old Britons.

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatiſe on Stone Henge, has amply overturned all theſe ſyſtems of former writers; but is not equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing his favourite poſition, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected from a diligent examination of the ſeveral ſyſtems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of hiſtory or tradition; and that there are no ſufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

* Olaus Wormius, in the true ſpirit of national prejudice, ſuppoſes all theſe monuments to have been erected by the Danes, becauſe great numbers are found in Denmark; upon which aſſertion, Stukeley obſerves, that their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they exiſted in that country long before any mention is made in hiſtory of the Danes; but they muſt have been raiſed before that people occupied the Northern iſles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths of old; and if not by them, by whom is not known from ſtory.

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and by others have been ſolely attributed to the Druids; a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to ſhelter our ignorance. Although theſe rude monuments are undoubtedly of ſuch high antiquity as almoſt to baffle our inquiries; yet we may infer, from hiſtorical evidence, that they do not all appear to have had the ſame original deſtination: ſome were raiſed as memorials of material events; others as ſepulchres; but the greateſt part were probably places, or * objects, of ſacred worſhip. In the earlier ages of the world we find that ſtones were erected for all theſe purpoſes, and by different nations; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the ſeveral proofs of the aſſertion; I muſt refer the reader to Borlaſe's Diſſertations upon ſimilar monuments exiſting in our own country, as the moſt able writing upon this ſubject. How can we poſſibly confine to

* Many inſtances of the worſhipping of ſtones occur among the antient Pagans; and it appears that ſome were held no leſs ſacred in theſe Northern regions. Among other proofs is the following, of one which was worſhipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Chriſtianity.

"In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum religioſe colu-
"erant, utpote a genio ſuo tutelari inhabitari tradentes." Kriſtni Saga, p. 13.

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any particular nation, or religion, cuſtoms uſed indiſcriminately by all in remote periods; or how can we aſſign their epoch; ſince moſt of them were either raiſed before the Chriſtian æra, or preceded the introduction of the Goſpel into thoſe parts; when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to aſcertain their origin?

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

Articles of the New Form of Government eſtabliſhed in Sweden at the Revolution of MDCCLXXII.

The following form of government is an exact tranſcript of that which was tranſlated into Engliſh, by order of his Swediſh Majeſty, from the original, and printed for the uſe of the Engliſh Merchants reſident at Stockholm. Although it contains ſeveral expreſſions and phraſes not perfectly conſonant to the idiom of the Engliſh language, yet, as it is a ſtate-paper of great conſequence, I thought it more adviſeable to print it in its preſent form, than to new-model the ſtyle; particularly as there are very few expreſſions, the meaning of which can be doubted. The reader will therefore excuſe any trifling errors in the ſtyle, or orthography; and not impute them to any negligence in the author.

WE, GUSTAVUS, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, &c. &c. &c. heir of Norway, duke of Schleſwig, Holſtein, &c. &c. make it known, that whereas, from the beginning of Our reign, We uninterruptedly have endeavoured to employ Our royal power and authority to promote the advancement, ſtrength, and welfare of this realm, as well as the improvement, ſafety, and happineſs of Our loyal ſubjects; and that, in order to obtain this end, We have found, that the preſent ſituation of the country requires an unavoidable amendment of the Fundamental Laws, adapted to the above-mentioned ſalutary purpoſe; and therefore, after the moſt

moſt exact and mature deliberation and reflection, We have drawn up a form of government, which the States of the realm now aſſembled unanimouſly have received and ſworn to; which form of government, ſo agreed to by the ſtates, We graciouſly have been pleaſed, by theſe preſents, to approve and confirm, according to its literal ſenſe, in the form and manner following.

We, the under-written Senators and States of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, biſhops, knights and nobility, clergy, chiefs of the militia, deputies of the towns and peaſantry, here aſſembled in behalf of ourſelves and our fellow-ſubjects at home, make it known, that whereas We, by a ſad experience, have found, that, under the name of the bleſſed Liberty, ſeveral of our fellow-ſubjects have formed an Ariſtocracy, ſo much more intolerable, as it hath been framed under licentiouſneſs, fortified by ſelf-intereſt and ſeverities, and finally ſupported by foreign powers, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and which hath brought us in the utmoſt inſecurity by the wrong interpretation of the law, and at laſt might have led the kingdom, our dear native country, to the dreadful fate, which the hiſtory of former times, and the example of our neighbours, hath laid before us, had not the ſpirit of zealous citizens, and their love to the country, ſupported by the zeal and atchievements of the High and Puiſſant Prince and Lord Guſtavus III. King of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, our moſt Gracious Sovereign, ſaved and drawn us out of it; ſo that we have turned our thoughts upon fortifying our liberty, in a manner, that it may not be abuſed by a bold enterprizing ruler, nor by ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, and treacherous citizens, or ſpiteful and haughty enemies; but that the old kingdom of Sweden and Gothia for ever may be a free and independent realm: therefore we have granted and confirmed, as we, by theſe preſents, declare and aſſert this form of government to be an unchangeable and ſacred Fundamental Law, which we, for us and our poſterity, born and unborn, promiſe to obey and keep, after its literal ſenſe; and deem thoſe to be enemies to us and the kingdom, that would perſuade us to deviate therefrom, as it, word for word, here follows:

I. Unanimity in religion, and the true divine worſhip, is the ſureſt baſis of a lawful, concordant, and ſtable government; and therefore the king, and all the officers and ſubjects of the realm, ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, firſt and

foremoſt be addicted to the pure and evident word of God, as it is revealed in the Prophetical and Apoſtolic Writings, explained in the Chriſtian Symbols, the Catechiſm of Luther, and the unvaried Confeſſion of Augſburg, and confirmed by the Council of Upſala, and the former Decrees and Declarations of the States, in order that the right of the church may be ſtrengthened, but without any prejudice to the rights of the king, of the crown, or of the whole Swediſh people.

II. The king is intitled to rule his realm as the law of Sweden ſays, he and no other, to fortify, love and keep juſtice and truth; but forbid, aboliſh, and deſtroy unrighteouſneſs and injury; not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or welfare, unleſs he be lawfully convicted and judged, nor to diſtrain, or ſuffer to be diſtrained, from any man his goods, moveable and unmoveable, without lawful trial and judgement, and to rule the kingdom according to the chapter of the law concerning the king's prerogative, the Swediſh law, and this form of government.

III. The order of ſucceſſion to the crown ſubſiſts intirely as it is eſtabliſhed in the Act of Inheritance, ſettled at Stockholm Anno Domini 1543, in conformity to the like Act of Weſteras, Anno Domini 1544, and the Decree of Norrkoping, Anno Domini 1604.

IV. Next to the king's majeſty, the greateſt reſpect hath been of old, and ſhall be hereafter, paid to the ſenators of the realm; and them the king alone creates and elects of native Swediſh knighthood and nobility, bound to his majeſty by fidelity, loyalty, and allegiance: and though they cannot be determined to a fixt number, becauſe ſo many may be conſtituted as the need and dignity of the kingdom requires; yet they ordinarily ought to be ſeventeen, incluſive of the high officers of the realm, and the lord-lieutenant of Pomerania. The chief care of all theſe ſhall be to adviſe his majeſty in all the important affairs and concerns of the kingdom, whenever it pleaſeth his majeſty to conſult them; to aſſert all rights of the realm, to adviſe all that is moſt advantageous for him and for the kingdom, after the beſt of their judgement; to influence the ſtates and the people to loyalty and willingneſs; to be careful of the right, majeſty, independency, advantage, and flouriſhing ſtate of the king and the realm: and thus, according to what the Decree of the Diet of the year

year 1602 says, advise, as their duty demands, but not rule. For the rest, the senators are bound to the king alone, and answerable to him only for their counsels; yet the king cannot reproach, or impute to them any bad success, which may happen against their suffrages, expectations, thoughts, and opinions, formed upon good reasons, especially if the execution of good counsels does not reach the proposed aim, by the fault of him to whom it is enjoined and commanded to perform and execute them.

V. The king is entitled to govern and rule, save and protect towns and countries, and all the rights appertaining to him and to the crown, according to the law and this form of government.

VI. Whereas the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances offensive and defensive, seldom bear the least delay, and necessarily require the greatest secrecy, his majesty therefore consults with the senators in those important matters, and, having pondered and collected their suffrages, takes such measures and expedients, as he himself thinks to be the best and most useful for the kingdom; yet if, in those important matters, the senate should prove unanimous in an opinion, opposite to his majesty's, then his majesty yields to their sentiment; but if the advices should prove different, then his majesty decides, and approves of that opinion which he himself thinks the best and most advantageous.

VII. If the king is a foreigner, he may not go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and consent of the states of the realm; but if he is a native Swede, then he only needs to communicate his resolution to the senate, and perceive its advice, in the manner set down in the foregoing VI.

VIII. And that all occurring business may be performed, by his majesty, with the more activity and order, the affairs are to be divided between the senators in the manner his majesty thinks most useful and proper; his majesty, as the head of the kingdom, only being accountable to God and the country for his ruling it; and in all these affairs, when his majesty hath collected the opinions of the senators, who are acquainted with those matters, and called by his majesty to ponder them, his majesty hath the decisive voice; yet herefrom shall be excepted all the juridical cases judged at the King's benches, courts martial, or any other of the tribunals in the kingdom, and which come in the last

laſt inſtance to the final deciſion of the high reviſion of juſtice, which always conſiſts of ſeven ſenators, that have been employed in juridical offices, and are reputed to be juſt and ſkilled in the law, and where his majeſty himſelf hereafter, as before, is preſent, having there but two voices, and, when the opinions prove even, the deciſive vote.

IX. It appertains to the king's majeſty alone to do acts of grace, and to give pardon, to reſtore honour, life, and goods, in all crimes, which are not evidently contrary to the holy word of God.

X. All the higher offices, from lieutenant-colonel to field-marſhal, both incluſive, and all their equals in the eccleſiaſtical and civil order, are in the king's gift, in the ſitting of the ſenate, after the following wiſe: when a place is vacant, the ſenators ought to take notice of the capacity and merits of all perſons that ſue for ſuch places, and who may come into conſideration, and make report thereof to his majeſty; and his majeſty, having in the ſenate indicated the perſon who is come in his gracious remembrance to be advanced to the ſame place, the ſenators give their conſiderations thereupon in the Protocol, but without any further votation. To all other employments the colleges, and other perſons concerned, propoſe to his majeſty three perſons of the moſt ſkilled, worthieſt, and beſt qualified for the vacant place, that are to be found; on which occaſion, ſomebody or other of merit, beſides thoſe of the college, may be remembered; and all others that ſeek for the preferment, and are competent, may be named. In the regiments, the propoſal to the vacant poſt is to be made according to the ſtatute of King Charles XII. of the 6th November 1716. If, in the propoſing, any man ſhould be found to be injured, and without reaſon neglected, the reſpective perſons concerned ſhall be accountable for it. Out of the ſoliciting perſons his majeſty chuſeth him that he thinks the moſt qualified. But all the other lower offices, of which the colleges, chapters, and colonels of the regiments, as well as other bodies, before the year 1680, have been uſed to diſpoſe, may be now and hereafter in their particular gift. Foreigners, being princes or other perſons, may not hereafter be employed in the commiſſions of the crown, neither in the civil nor military ſtate, except in his majeſty's court, if they be not by eminent and great qualities able to do

ſignal honour and notable ſervice to the kingdom. To all theſe places ability and experience ſhall only open the way, without any regard to favour or birth when they are not accompanied with merit. The election of the arch-biſhop, biſhops, and ſuperintendants, ſhall proceed after the former cuſtom, and his majeſty alone nominates one of the three who are propoſed to him by the perſons concerned. The preferment of the paſtors of pariſhes ſhall be entirely according to the form of government of the year 1720, and the other ſtatutes concerning theſe affairs enacted after that time.

XI. The king alone is entitled to ennoble thoſe that by loyalty, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themſelves well deſerving of the king and the country; but whereas there is a great multitude of noblemen in Sweden, his Majeſty vouchſafes to reſtrain this number to one hundred and fifty: and the order of nobles may not deny introduction to theſe one hundred and fifty new families: likewiſe the nobility may not deny introduction to the noblemen his majeſty will create counts or barons, and who by great and eminent merits have deſerved it.

XII. All affairs, here above not excepted, are to be reported to his majeſty in his cabinet; or in one of the diviſions in the ſenate, when his majeſty thinks it more proper; or, if his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed, to adviſe with a greater number of ſenators; but in that caſe they ſhall always be deemed to have been propoſed in the cabinet.

XIII. The realm being large, and the affairs many, and of greater importance than that the king alone can be able to examine and clear them all, he needs officers and governors to aſſiſt him.

XIV. For the diligent attendance, performance, and expedition of the affairs, certain colleges are inſtituted, who, like the arms of the body, extend their care to all that is to be done and executed in the kingdom. They have right and power, every one in their functions, in the name of the king, and in what relates to their charges and office, to command the officers under them, and to keep them who are under their care and direction, to the performance of their duty, to demand account of their expeditions, and to give his majeſty all neceſſary and deſired notice, as well of thoſe as their own buſineſs.

XV. In

XV. In the King's Bench, which is the king's higheſt court of judicature, is to be one preſident, who, by learning and ſkill in the law, has made himſelf a qualified judge; and has, for his aſſiſtants, one vice-preſident, and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors of the King's Bench. Theſe high tribunals, every one in their place, have inſpection and care that juſtice may be accountably and well adminiſtred, according to law and eſtabliſhed ſtatutes; which, without miſinterpreting, muſt be obſerved and kept in the judgements after the true and literal ſenſe; inſomuch, that the courts of King's Bench, without profit, ſelf-intereſt, or other conſiderations, do juſtice to every body, as they ſhall be anſwerable before God and the king, leſt unrighteouſneſs might ruin the land and the kingdom. A nobleman may never, in arraignments of capital cauſes, be judged in any other court than that of the King's Bench, intirely as the privileges and ſtatute relating to law-ſuits of the year 1615 preſcribes and commands; yet the trial may be made *in loco*, and no other criminal caſes than thoſe touching life and honour be brought thither. It appertains likewiſe to the King's Bench to have a narrow inſpection over the inferior judges in the cities and country, as well as executors; and when any thing is done by them out of imprudence, blundering, or avarice, they muſt immediately be ſued, judged, and puniſhed as the caſe requires; but if any of them ſhould be convicted of having wilfully, out of hatred, malignity, or for bribes, wronged the juſtice, and thus wounded his conſcience, and damaged his fellow-ſubject on his life, honour, and welfare, ſuch a one ſhall not be puniſhed with fines, or removal from his place, but with loſs of his life and honour, and, according to the caſe, pay for his malice and miſchievouſneſs, intirely after the Swediſh law. Nor may ſuch miſdemeanors be huſhed up or countenanced by indulgence or unſeaſonable mercy, leſt, in ſo grave matters, others may be induced to a licentious abuſe of juſtice, when they perceive, that, upon the offence, forfeiture and damage, due cenſure and well-deſerved puniſhment does not follow. On the contrary, they who, out of malice, raſhneſs, and revenge, fall upon the judges and executors of the law, in the performance of their offices, with calumnious, ſlandering, and injurious words and writings, without being able fully to prove what they have charged them

with, ſhall be immediately and ſeverely puniſhed, as every particular caſe may require; in order that inconſiderate, malicious, and miſchievous perſons may take warning thereat: but nobody, whoſoever he is, ſhall be for a long while kept in priſon without being put to a trial and judgement. And, in order that need and diſtreſs may not give the judge an occaſion and pretence to abuſe his office, the lawman's-judge and ſeſſion-money, granted by the peaſantry to the maintenance of their judges, ſhall be kept untouched, and employed to its due end, and the pay of the judges, after the annual liſt, exactly according to the aſſurance of King Guſtavus Adolphus, of bleſſed memory, in the year 1611. The king's attornies and ſerjeants at law may not exerciſe their offices to the injury of others, and promoting their own ſelf-intereſt: and if this ſhould happen, they ſhall be accountable for it according to law; of which the chancellor of juſtice ſhall have a narrow inſpection: his incumbent duty it is likewiſe, to ſee how the law and the ordinances are obeyed, and give an account thereof to his majeſty. The above-mentioned King's Benches ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, be three. The firſt at Stockholm, whereto appertains the whole kingdom of Sweden, properly ſo called in the old law: the ſecond is always at Ionkoping, whereto belongs the whole kingdom of Gothia; and the third has its ſeat at Abo, to which the Great Duchy of Finland reſorts.

XVI. All commiſſions, deputations with juriſdiction, or extraordinary tribunals, either eſtabliſhed by the king or the ſtates, ſhall be hereafter aboliſhed, as being the means to further ſovereignty or tyranny; and every Swediſh man ſhall enjoy the right to be judged by that court to which he belongs, after the law of Sweden: but if it ſhould happen, that any of ſo high a birth, or the ſenators, or a whole college, ſhould prove guilty of ſo high crimes and miſdemeanors, that it concerns the king, the realm, or the majeſty of the crown, and that the criminal could not be judged neither by the King's Bench, nor by the ſenate, then a tribunal of the realm ſhall be conſtituted, where the king ſhall be preſent, or in his place the prince royal ſhall preſide, or the firſt of the hereditary princes, or the eldeſt ſenator; and whoſe members are to be all the ſenators, the field-marſhal, all the preſidents of the royal colleges, four of the eldeſt counſellors of the three King's Benches, one general, two of the eldeſt lieutenant-generals, two of the eldeſt

eldeſt major-generals, the eldeſt admiral, the two eldeſt vice-admirals, the two eldeſt rear-admirals, the chancellor of the court, and the three ſecretaries of ſtate; the chancellor of juſtice is always ſollicitor; and the eldeſt ſecretary of reviſion ſhall keep the minutes. This tribunal is intitled, the trial paſt, to publiſh the judgement with the doors open, and nobody may afterwards have power to alter it, and much leſs to make it more ſevere: his majeſty not deprived of his prerogative to pardon.

XVII. Next to the King's Benches follows the Military College, where now, as before, is to be a preſident, the maſter of ordnance, the quarter-maſter-general, and the wonted counſellors of war, who muſt be well uſed to accounts, and are eſpecially to be taken out of thoſe that are ſkilled in matters of war. This college has inſpection and care of the land army in the kingdom, the artillery, uſed both in the field and in the fortreſſes, the body of fortification, guns, factories, weapons, ammunitions, and what belongs thereunto, the condition of the fortreſſes, eſpecially at the frontiers, caſtles, and building for the war, the levying, enliſting, and reviewing of ſoldiers; and ſo further, according to the inſtructions, ordinances, and royal writs, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XVIII. The whole land army and navy of the kingdom, with the high and low commanders thereof, ſhall take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majeſty, the realm, and the ſtates, according to the eſtabliſhed form. The army of horſe and foot, as well as the mariners, continues, as it is appointed, according to the ſanction, called Indelnings-Werk, and is to be maintained by the contracts made with the peaſantry and the towns, which are to be narrowly performed, obeyed, and kept, until his majeſty, with the ſtates, ſhall find it neceſſary to alter them in any way.

XIX. No colonel, or any other of the military commanders, may, without his majeſty's own order, ſummon any home-ſent troops to aſſemble, excepted the uſual rendevous of the regiments, unleſs in caſe of an unexpected invaſion of the enemies of the kingdom, which ſhall then be inſtantly reported to his majeſty; the chief command belonging to him alone over his whole army and navy, as it has always been uſual in former, and for the country the moſt flouriſhing and happy times.

XX. The third college of the realm is the Board of Admiralty, wherein is to be a preſident, and the members are to be all the admirals and flag-officers preſent; but for the better managing of theſe affairs, in his majeſty's council there ſhall be at leaſt one ſenator who hath ſerved in the navy, and is experienced in the marine. This college has the inſpection and care of the navy of the realm, with all things thereto belonging, as well the building of the ſhips, their equipping and furniſhing with guns, as the victualling, the raiſing of the marines, the company of divers, the pilotry, and all other buſineſs thereto belonging, according to the inſtructions, royal writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXI. The fourth college is the Chancery of the Realm, where one of the ſenators always is preſident, having, as members, one or more of the ſenators, one chancellor of the court, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the uſual counſellors of chancery. In this college, all the ſtatutes, ordinances, and receſſes, concerning the kingdom in general, and the privileges of particular towns and perſons, are framed and penned, eſpecially commiſſions for places, edicts, writs, and warrants: hereto belong likewiſe all the records and rolls of the diets and other aſſemblies, alliances with foreign powers, treaties of peace with enemies, the due diſpatching of envoys, all the counſels the king ordinarily takes from the ſenators, or ſome of them, and the records thereof, as well as all what is iſſued under his majeſty's name and ſeal. This college has likewiſe the neceſſary care for the poſt-Offices in the whole kingdom and the adjacent provinces, in order that they, under the inſpection of the chief director, may be duly adminiſtred. The ſecretaries of ſtate are to take particular care that the reſolutions, according to his majeſty's deciſion, and in conformity with the records, may be readily and ſpeedily, duly, and in good order, iſſued, without the leaſt neglect, in what view ſoever it might be. Should any perſon prove ſo raſh as to iſſue a warrant, contrary to his majeſty's deciſion, and therewith endeavour to ſurprize his majeſty (which, in ſuch a multitude of expeditions, eaſily might happen), the ſame perſon ſhall, after trial and lawful judgement, be removed from his place, and puniſhed as the crime deſerves. Nor ſhall, therefore, any warrant be hereafter, more than hitherto, obeyed and executed, without due counterſignation, except in military affairs. This

college is beſides to follow the ordinance of the chancery, the inſtructions, writs, and royal ſtatutes, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXII. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident of the chancery, the counſellors of chancery that are ſenators, the chancellor of the court, the chancellor of juſtice, the ſecretaries of ſtate, the counſellors of chancery, as well as the ſecretaries of expeditions, and chuſes them to whom his majeſty has the beſt truſt. In the ſame manner his majeſty's envoys to foreign courts are to be conſtituted.

XXIII. The fifth college of the realm is the College of the Chamber, which has a preſident and the uſual counſellors of the chambers. There all who have any buſineſs with the income and expences of the king and crown, are to receive their order and give their accounts, according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, hitherto iſſued, or which may hereafter be enacted. The care and endeavour of this college ſhall be to ſee that the rents and taxes be duly and ſeaſonably gathered and encreaſed, the ground well cultivated and improved by a good tillage and huſbandry, in order that the *Regalia Fiſci* may not be neglected, forfeited and purloined; but the ſubſtance of the realm by all means amended, adapted to the expences, kept in order, and in due time received, ſo that the public credit may not be loſt; but that his majeſty, in caſe of need, can depend upon aid and aſſiſtance as well within the kingdom as abroad. The great cuſtom-houſe, with its receipt and accounts, as well as the petty land-tolls and the exciſe, appertain likewiſe, under the inſpection of a chief director, to the care of the college of the chamber, where commiſſions are to be given to the reſpective cuſtom-houſe officers and gatherers, and due ſecurity for his majeſty to be obſerved.

XXIV. In the Exchequer is to be a preſident and the uſual commiſſioners of the exchequer. Hereunto belongs the diſpoſition and diſtribution of the caſh of the crown; and here likewiſe every one that handles the king's money, in due time ought to come in with their accounts (Fœrſlag) according to what their inſtructions ordain. The eſtimates muſt alſo in due time every year be ſettled, and thereby the eſtabliſhment, or liſt of the year 1696, be the baſis and rule; and care be taken, that the officers may be paid out of the incomes and coffers of the crown.

But the aforeſaid liſt may not be exceeded or augmented, ſhould not the unavoidable ſervice and intereſt of the king and the kingdom require it. In the liſt ſhall not only ſubſiſt the determined ſum for his majeſty's privy purſe, which always is left to his majeſty's particular will and diſpoſition, but alſo a ſum annually to be appropriated to extraordinary iſſues, and managed after his majeſty's underwritten and counterſigned order: the whole, according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be enacted.

XXV. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident and the commiſſioners of the Exchequer, out of ſuch perſons as, by faithfulneſs and ſkill in this intereſting matter, have proved themſelves worthy of his majeſty's truſt.

XXVI. The college of the Mines ſhall likewiſe have a preſident and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors; all ſuch perſons, who by learning and experience have made themſelves qualified to be officers of judicature, and alſo have acquired a ſolid knowledge in metallurgic matters, and all the ſciences thereto belonging. This college has inſpection and care of all what concerns the riſe and improvement of the mines and forges.

XXVII. The College of Commerce has alſo a preſident, the uſual counſellors, aſſeſſors and commiſſioners, who have a conſummate knowledge in the matters of commerce and trade. It is the incumbent duty of this college to take care that the commerce may proſper and increaſe, that the manufactures may be ſupported, the work-houſes well regulated and maintained, and duty (Licent) portory, cuſtom-ordinances and taxes obſerved; over and above what inſtructions, writs, and ſtatutes, as are at preſent preſcribed, or hereafter ſhall be ordained.

XXVIII. The Reviſion of the Chamber muſt likewiſe have a preſident, who, with the uſual members, takes care, not only that all juridical affairs, there depending, may be lawfully judged and executed by the ſerjeants at law, but alſo that the annual accounts of the crown, without any delay, from that very time they are ſent to the Royal College of the Chamber, and the Reviſion of the Chamber takes notice thereof, may be ſurveyed, explained, elaborated, and finally decided; all according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

XXIX. The

XXIX. The Lord High Steward of the Realm is one of the ſenators, in whoſe inſpection his majeſty's court, palace, and houſehold are, and who rules, keeps, and takes care of his table and ſervants of the court, with all what thereto belongs.

XXX. His Majeſty's Court and Houſehold is to be at his own peculiar diſpoſition; his majeſty alone being able to alter, change, and reform whatever he ſhould find neceſſary.

XXXI. The grand governor (Ofver-Stâthallare) of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, lieutenant and quarter-maſter of the lifeguard-man, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guard, and alſo the colonel of the horſe-guard, the colonel of the life-dragoons, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the general-adjutants and the commandants of the frontier towns, are all charges of truſt, which his majeſty grants or recalls in ſitting ſenate, yet without voting.

XXXII. All the colleges are bound to aſſiſt each other in all what can be conducive to the good and emolument of the king and the kingdom, whenever it ſhall be required and neceſſary: yet one college muſt not incroach, or do any hindrance and prejudice to the other; but each attend to its buſineſs with due activity, care, ſedulity, faith, and prudence. The preſidents, when they are preſent in their colleges, enjoy their due power and authority; but when they are abſent in the king's, or their own private affairs, although they then keep the title and honour due to their quality, yet they cannot order, diſpoſe, and command any thing that belongs to the charge of preſidents, till they ſhall return and be ſeated in their regular function. During their abſence, the eldeſt member of the college performs, with equal right, authority, and effect, all what is adherent to the charge. The colleges are accountable to the king for their behaviour when he requires, and ſhall anſwer nobody but him alone for their adminiſtration.

XXXIII. The regency of the provinces is eſtabliſhed in certain governments juſt as they now are conſtituted; ſo that there never, for the future, ſhall be any general-governor in this realm, if not on a very peculiar emergency, and then for a ſhort time: alſo ſhall there no appanage, province, or government be beſtowed; but the provinces ſhall be divided in the ſame governments they now, according to the Form of Regency de Anno 1720, actually are.

XXXIV. The

XXXIV. The prince heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, and alſo the princes of the royal Swediſh blood, cannot have any appanage, or general-government, but muſt depend upon ſuch annual allowance that can be allotted them from the Exchequer, which money, for the hereditary princes, muſt not be leſs than one hundred thouſand dollars S. mt. * from the day they ſhall be declared of age, which is at twenty-one years. The princes of the Swediſh blood, who are more diſtant from the crown, ſhall have ſuch an annual penſion for their maintenance, as can be convenient and ſuitable to their birth. Yet they can be diſtinguiſhed with the titles of duchies, as in old times has been in faſhion; but without any right to thoſe provinces whoſe name they bear, which always ſhall be incorporated under one head and ruler, without any diminution or ſeparation.

XXXV. Concerning the ſuſtenance of the prince royal, who always is the reigning king his eldeſt ſon, or grandſon, in a direct deſcending line, it muſt be beſtowed in the ſame manner as eſtabliſhed for the late king Adolphus Friedrichus his ſon's, our now reigning moſt gracious king's Guſtavus's the III. annual maintenance. And when he is come to the age of eighteen years, he ſhall be admitted into the council of the king.

XXXVI. No prince of the Swediſh blood, although he may be prince royal, or hereditary prince, or of a more diſtant line, may marry without the king's knowledge and conſent. In the caſe any one ſhould contravene, he ſhall be judged after the Swediſh law, and the children be diſinherited.

XXXVII. The king being ſick, or abſent upon a long journey, then the regency is to be adminiſtred by thoſe of the ſenate, whom the king has denominated for that purpoſe: but if the king ſhould fall ſick ſo ſuddenly that he cannot give any orders how the affairs of the realm ſhould be managed, then all the warrants and decrees are to be ſigned by the four eldeſt ſenators and the preſident of the chancery: theſe five together are to exerciſe the royal power in all affairs that require a quick diſpatch; but they are not intitled to denomination of employments, nor to conclude alliances, before the king being ſo reſtored to health, that he himſelf can take in hands the affairs of

* About £4166.

government;

government; and then theſe ſhall be accountable to the king how buſineſs has been diſpatched. But if the king dies, and the prince royal is under age, then the government of the realm is to be adminiſtred in the manner above-mentioned, unleſs that the late king had made any teſtamentary diſpoſition; in which caſe it ſhall be according to the king's ſaid teſtament.

XXXVIII. The ſtates of the realm muſt not fail to convene, when called by the king, on time and place indicated, there to conſult with his majeſty on ſuch affairs, whereabout his majeſty deſires their meeting. Nobody elſe but the king alone ſhall have the power to call the ſtates to a public diet, except in the minority of the king; then the tutors * exerciſe this power. But if the crown ſhould happen to be vacant by the extinction of the whole royal family on the male ſide (for which ſad event the gracious God beware!), then the ſtates of the kingdom are bound, without any convocation, on the 30th day after the death of the king, of themſelves to meet at Stockholm, according to our act of convention, de dato Junii 23d, 1743; which act alſo expreſſes the penalty on whoſoever in that caſe ſhould endeavour, with practices and conſpiracies, to incroach upon the free election of the ſtates. In that unhappy event, it is incumbent on the wardens of the houſe of nobles, the chapter of Upſala, and the court of magiſtrates at Stockholm, inſtantly to publiſh it, in all the provinces, for the knowledge of all who are concerned; and whereas the provincial governors then are obliged, each in his territory, to make known the demiſe of the king to all the inhabitants, it is expected, that ſo many will be preſent before the appointed time, that they may be able to ſave and defend the liberty of the country, and a new ſucceſſor to the crown be choſen.

XXXIX. The ſtates of the kingdom are bound, with faithful concern, to leave intemerate all the royal prerogatives, after the dictates of the Swediſh law, ſo that they ſhall be kept in their full vigour and ſtrength, in order that all what in ſuch manner appertains to the royal authority ſhall be zealouſly and carefully maintained, defended, and ſtrengthened; wherefore, nothing of theſe fundamental laws is to be reformed, augmented or diminiſhed, without the concert and agreement of the king, on purpoſe that

* Guardians.

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no unlawfulneſs might render invalid the enacted law, or the liberty of the ſubjects, together with the king's rights, be invaded and ſubdued; but each be in poſſeſſion of his due rights and privileges: to that end all the ſtatutes, from the year 1680 till this preſent time, which have been conſidered as fundamental laws, in virtue of this ſhall be abrogated and rejected.

XL. The king ſhall have no power to make new laws without the knowledge and aſſent of the ſtates, nor abrogate an old one received formerly.

XLI. The ſtates ſhall have no power to abrogate old laws, nor to make new ones, without the king's conſent and approbation.

XLII. When a new law is to be ſettled, the following method ſhall be obſerved: if the ſtates of the realm wiſh for a new ſtatute, then they are to conſult among themſelves, and after they are come to agreement, the project is to be preſented to his majeſty by their four ſpeakers, for to perceive the king's ſentiment. His majeſty thereupon aſks the advice of the ſenate; and when he himſelf has pondered it, and fixed his reſolution, he calls the ſtates to public meeting in the Great-Hall (Riks-Salen), and gives them, in a ſhort ſpeech, his conſent and agreement, or elſe the reaſons for his refuſal. But if the king ſhould propoſe a new law, he is at firſt to communicate it to the ſenate; and when the ſenators have given their advice to the protocol, the whole matter is to be delivered to the ſtates, who, after having conſulted, and come to an agreement amongſt themſelves, aſk for a day to preſent their conſent to his majeſty in the Great-Hall: but if it happens to be a refuſal, then they deliver their reaſons for it in writing by their four ſpeakers.

XLIII. If there ſhould be raiſed ſome new queſtion about the true meaning of the law, as in former times frequently has happened, then it ſhall be decided in the ſame manner as in the 42d article here above is enacted.

XLIV. Although it always is an appurtenance to the Crown to coin money, yet the ſtates have reſerved themſelves, when any raiſing or debaſing of the ſtandard, or intrinſic value, ſhould be deſigned or undertaken, that ſuch a reformation ſhall not come to paſs without their knowledge and agreement.

XLV. The king is to defend and ſave the country, particularly from foreign and hoſtile invaſion; but he cannot

againſt the tenor of the law, his royal oath and aſſurance, levy any aids for war, new taxes, enrolling of men, or other duties, without the knowledge of the ſtates, and their free will and conſent: yet, that unhappy caſe excepted, when the kingdom ſhould be attacked by an army, then his majeſty has power to take ſuch meaſures, for the ſecurity of the realm, as he ſhall judge convenient for the good of his ſubjects; but as ſoon as the war is finiſhed, the ſtates muſt be called, and the new taxes in behalf of the war quite aboliſhed.

XLVI. The aſſemblies of the ſtates are not to ſubſiſt longer than at moſt three months: and in order to avoid that the country being aggrieved by the expences of long diets, as has happened heretofore, the king is impowered, after that time, to diſſolve the aſſembly, and ſend away the deputies each to his own home; and if, in the like occaſion, no new ſubſidies were granted, the old ones then are to ſubſiſt.

XLVII. The ſtates are intitled to denominate and chuſe the perſons who are to be ſeated in thoſe committees, with which the king will pleaſe to conſult about ſuch buſineſs as he deſigns ſhall be kept ſecret. Theſe members are inveſted with all that right and authority which appertains to the ſtates themſelves: but all matters that can be publiſhed ſhall be communicated to the ſtates, and imparted to their deliberation.

XLVIII. The king has no power to wage war without the aſſent and agreement of the ſtates.

XLIX. No other minutes, but of ſuch affairs that have been under the deliberation of the king with the ſtates, can be required or delivered to them.

L. The ſtate and condition of the Exchequer ſhall be laid open before the ſtates of the realm, in order to take cognizance that the public money has been ſpent to the good and welfare of the country.

LI. If a member of the ſtates, during the diet, or on his journey to or from the diets, ſhould be injured and wronged with words and deeds, when he has made known that he is in that quality and buſineſs, it ſhall be puniſhed as a breach of the king's peace.

LII. His majeſty aſſures to maintain all the ſtates of the kingdom in their duly acquired old privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties: and alſo, no new privileges for any one of the ſtates, without the knowledge, advice, and conſent of all the four ſtates, ſhall be given or imparted.

LIII. To

LIII. To his majeſty's gracious care alone the German provinces are left, that they may be governed according to the Laws of the empire, and the tenor of the treaty of Weſtphaly.

LIV. The cities and towns of the kingdom are to remain in their duly acquired privileges and rights, which were granted and given them by former kings; yet ſo, that they are to be fitted and adapted to the circumſtances of the times, for the good and advantage of the commonwealth.

LV. The bank of the ſtates is to remain hereafter as before, under their guarantee, and at their own diſpoſition, ſo that it is to be adminiſtered according to the rules and ſtatutes already enacted, or ſuch as the ſtates will eſtabliſh for the future.

LVI. The caſh of penſions belonging to the army ſhall remain, according to the ordinances already confirmed, or ſuch as his majeſty, with the faithful military commanders and deputies from the regiments, will agree to.

LVII. If this Law in any point ſhould be found obſcure, the literal contents muſt be obſerved, till the king and the ſtates, in the manner expreſſed hereabove, articles XXXIX. and XLII. ſhall agree upon the true ſenſe.

All this, We, now here aſſembled States, have judged neceſſary for the regular government of the realm, our liberty and ſecurity, to ratify and enact for us, our abſent fellow-ſubjects, our poſterity born and unborn. We declare and proteſt hereby anew, that we bear the greateſt abhorrence to a king's deſpotic power, or the ſo-called ſovereignty; deeming that our higheſt felicity, honour, and advantage, to be and dwell free and ſelf-independent, law-giving, but law-obſerving ſtates, under the ſway of a king in power, but bound to the law; both of us tied together and protected by the law, who preſerves us and our dear country from the dangers which are the ſad effects of diſorder, licentiouſneſs, deſpotiſm, and an Ariſtocratic government of many, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and to the grievance and diſtreſs of every ſubject. We are ſo much the more aſſured to have an orderly, lawful, and happy government, as his majeſty has declared, that he will regard it as his greateſt honour to be the firſt citizen amongſt a free people; and we are hopeful that

that the like ſentiments will be propagated in the Royal Family, from father to ſon, till the lateſt times of the world. Therefore we declare enemy to us and the country whoever ſhall be ſo imprudent and malignant a fellow-ſubject, as to endeavour to draw us off from this ſanction by cheat and craft, ſecret plots or open violence, in order to intrude upon us royal deſpotiſm or ſovereignty; or, under the pretence and ſhow of liberty, overthrow theſe laws, which, when they corroborate a true and uſeful liberty, ſhut the doors to licentiouſneſs and confuſion. Whoever it may be, ſhall be puniſhed without mercy, according to the plain law of Sweden. We aſſure alſo, in virtue of our ſworn fealty and this form of government, that we ſhall keep loyal obedience to his majeſty, fulfil his orders in all that is due and warrantable before God and men, for him to command, and for us to do, all rights being ſafe, that belong to him and ourſelves, as it becomes faithful men and ſubjects.

Signed and ſealed in Stockholm the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour 1772.

For the Nobility.	For the Clergy.
A. G. LEIONHUFWUD.	AND. H. FORSSENIUS.
h. t. Landtmarſhal.	Speaker.
(L. S.)	(L. S.)

For the Burghers.	For the Peaſantry.
JOH. H. HOCHSCHILD.	JOSEPH HANSSON.
In the place of the Speaker.	Speaker.
(L. S.)	(L. S.)

All this here above written, We ourſelves not only receive as a firm fundamental law, but We ordain likewiſe, and enjoin all who are bound to Us and our Succeſſors to the reign, with fidelity, allegiance, and loyalty, to acknowledge, keep, and obey this form of government. For the more certainty, We have ſigned this with our own hand, and cauſed Our Royal Seal to be put hereunder, at Stockholm, the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour one thouſand ſeven hundred and the ſeventy ſecond.

GUSTAVUS.

No. II.

No. II.

Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from and to ENGLAND and RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, from CHRISTMAS 1778 to CHRISTMAS 1782.

	RUSSIA.						SWEDEN.						DENMARK.					
	Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.			Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.			Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1779	306,072	15	11	1,201,377	14	4	108,403	4	7	252,431	4	2	150,615	2	4	73,171	13	5
1780	161,031	10	5	1,150,429	12	11	49,678	10	5	144,180	17	1	156,085	19	5	86,731	4	4
1781	137,967	6	7	1,206,806	18	7	62,510	8	10	212,414	19	11	172,012	19	9	94,639	1	10
1782	196,577	9	10	1,185,844	14	4	56,083	2	7	163,219	7	11	164,732	2	4	73,038	9	2

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